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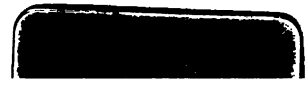

THE MEANS OF UNITY:

A CHARGE TO THE CLERGY

OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT THE ORDINARY VISITATION IN 1842;

WITH NOTES

ESPECIALLY ON THE INSTITUTION

OF THE ANGLICAN BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM,

AND ON THE NEED OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL SYNOD.

BY JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A.

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TO THE CLERGY

OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES

THIS CHARGE,

PUBLISHT AT THEIR REQUEST,

IS DEDICATED.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The printing of this Charge has been deferred so long, that I meant to combine it in the same Volume with those which have been delivered at the subsequent Visitations. But as it is strongly rumoured that the Parliament is shortly to be dissolved, and that the new Parliament, which will be attended by the meeting of Convocation, will be convened before the end of the summer, I have thought it advisable that this Charge, in the Notes to which I have been led to speak at some length on the want of an Ecclesiastical Synod,—a question which must soon become of immediate interest,—should be publisht by itself without further delay.

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THE MEANS OF UNITY:

A CHARGE TO THE CLERGY

OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT THE ORDINARY VISITATION IN 1842.

THE MEANS OF UNITY.

My Reverend Brethren,

When I last addrest you from this chair, I did not anticipate that I should so soon have to stand here before you again. I hoped and trusted that this year you would at length have had the benefit of an exhortation and admonition coming to you with the sanction of episcopal authority, and that I myself should have been among the hearers and learners, instead of occupying the more arduous and less welcome post of a speaker and teacher. But through the peculiar dispensation with which it has pleased God to visit our Diocese, this expectation has been baffled. It is but a little more than two years since I was raised by the kindness of Bishop Otter to the office which places me in this position amongst you; and during those two years two Bishops of this Diocese have been laid in their graves. Bishop Otter just lived long enough to win the love of his spiritual children, to shew us what a blessed thing it is when a faithful and loving servant of Christ is set on high as a father and ruler in the Church, to lay the foundations of the institutions which in the present state of England are the most needed for the strengthening and spreading of Christ's Kingdom, and, by a special and inestimable blessing, to draw our hearts together, and awaken a longing after union amongst us, at a time

when party-spirit has elsewhere been increasing so deplorably in violence and bitterness, and when it has almost seemed as though holiness and godliness were become stumblingblocks and provocatives of contention and division. His successor on the other hand was taken away before we had time to become acquainted with him. Thus we are left again this fourth year without the advantage of an episcopal Visitation, and that too at a time when the dogmatical vehemence with which contradictory opinions are asserted by the one party as the sole truth, and are branded by the other as heretical and antichristian, renders it more than ordinarily desirable that calm Wisdom should interpose her voice to moderate the excesses of partisanship and of opposition, and when, through this and other causes, every expression of episcopal judgement has acquired an unusual weight and importance; just as it is in the stress of the battle that the superintending and directing eye of the general becomes of the highest moment. On account of this, in addition to other reasons, I regret that, while the Clergy in other Dioceses are receiving instructions from their spiritual guides as to the manner in which it behoves them to judge and act in the present critical state of our Church, we should be left year after year without this authoritative counsel, and that, when a centre of unity is so much needed in every portion of the Church, and when all are becoming awakened to this want, we, after having been allowed for a short space to possess it, and thus to learn how great a blessing it may be, should thus in a manner be almost deprived of it. For such a bond of union as will constrain a collective body, with the ordinary varieties of temper

and opinion, to act cordially and vigorously together, is hardly to be found except in a strong personal attachment to an acknowledged legitimate chief, when esteem and affection for the individual enliven our reverence for the office: but this combination of feelings cannot well exist, until time has nurtured them and trained them up together. The very expressions by which we are wont to designate the relation between the Clergy of a Diocese and their Bishop, the name of father, which we give to him, and that of children, which we take to ourselves, imply that it is not a relation of sudden growth, but that habit and familiar intercourse must nourish and strengthen it. There are certain cases indeed, in which the paternal relation may arise out of a single act, as when the Apostles went from city to city, founding Church after Church, evermore begetting new spiritual children through the power of the Holy Ghost overshadowing them: yet even in the history of the apostolic age we find something especially beautiful and blessed in the yearlong relation between the Church of Ephesus and the beloved disciple of the Lord. In the ordinary condition of the Church, more particularly when the familiar intercourse between the Bishops and their Clergy is checkt by so many lamentable hindrances as nowadays in England, it would seem almost unavoidable that a considerable period must elapse, before a strong mutual attachment can be formed between them. Hence, as well as for divers other reasons, we are bound to acknowledge that a great and precious benefit was conferred upon our Church a few years ago, in the measure which, by equalizing the revenues of the several sees, was

designed to make translations much rarer, and thus to prolong the family relation between the Clergy in each Diocese and their father. May we not hope that ere long another important step will be taken to render Episcopacy still more a reality, by the multiplication of sees? so that every Bishop may be familiarly known to every clergyman, nay, in every parish, in his Diocese, and thus, instead of being in the minds of most persons little else than a name, may be honoured and loved as truly the overseer and chief shepherd of his people.

Among the visions which in these days of change and promise we are encouraged to form for the strengthening of our Church, this may perhaps be one of the dimmest and most remote; but every lover of our Church should earnestly desire its fulfilment. Hence, though this may not be precisely the time and place for speaking of such visions, I have been induced to allude to it by the recollection of the long period during which in this Diocese a Bishop has scarcely been seen amongst us. This thought reminded me, how, even at best, in the present state of our Church, the number of officers in our spiritual army bears no sort of proportion to that of the troops; and how, owing to this cause, many of the most beneficial influences, which would proceed from a wise and loving father, are now scantily exercised. Let us hope that the new life, which has been manifesting itself of late years in our Church, morbidly, it may be, often, and feverishly, but at all events with an energy to which we had not recently been accustomed, will in time be enabled, through God's blessing, to supply this, along with many other things, which for the present we must note to be wanting. To this end

let us all and each endeavour to make the best use of those faculties and powers which we have already, in the assurance that such is ever the most effectual mode of obtaining that which we have not.

In these sentences I have again ventured, as I did in both my former Charges, to express myself hopefully on the prospects of our Church. For, when I consider the various indubitable marks of an increase of activity and zeal in the great body of her ministers, and the many which seem to betoken an increase of holiness,— when I call to mind too how large a number of our lay brethren have been aroused to a livelier conviction of their membership in the body of Christ, — even after making every allowance for the evanescent effects of novelty and of fashion, and for the admixture of merely imaginative and other superficial impulses, — I cannot but cherish a hope that the Spirit of God is indeed stirring the heart of our Church, and that she is about to rise out of her long period of weakness and torpour into a higher power and glory. Yet no one can have lived in England during the last five years, least of all during the last fifteen months, without hearing piteous lamentations from opposite quarters on the condition of the Church, and dismal prognostications of the evils which threaten her. A change has indeed taken place latterly in the elements and objects of our alarm. Some years back it was thought that the Church would be assailed and injured by the State; the governing party in which was then supposed to entertain no friendly feelings toward her: our fears then were rather turned to the enemies who were attacking us from without. At present the foreboders of evil anticipate it rather from the

enemies who are conceived to be undermining the Church within. To this controversy on former occasions I have only just alluded: but its daily increasing diffusion, and its increast violence, I might almost say fierceness, during the last fifteen months, forbid my passing over it today, lest I should be accused of disserting on the history of Rome during her fourth century, without touching on the feuds between the patricians and plebeians. Yet the time and place preclude my attempting to discuss the various questions of doctrine and discipline, which have been so much agitated of late: still more do they bar my touching on the painful personal matters which have been mixt up with them. The few remarks I propose to make are of a different tendency. I should wish not to condemn either of the two contending parties utterly, nor to hold up either as being in exclusive possession of the truth; for this is the great errour and sin of both parties, that each of them does utterly condemn its opponents, and maintain that itself is in the exclusive possession of the truth. Thus it has ever been, wherever parties have prevailed, whether in the Church, or,—as the experience of every one of you will bear witness,—in the State, whether in philosophy or in literature: each party has ever asserted with sturdy selfcomplacency that it is in a land of Goshen, where it has the brightness of perfect daylight, and that its adversaries are lying under a heavy load of Egyptian darkness. This delusion is bred by the fumes of our selfconceit, and fanned by all our malignant passions, until by it the light, which we might otherwise have enjoyed, is itself turned into darkness. Our narrow and stiffneckt understandings will

not believe that there can be any forms of truth, except that which we ourselves have recognized. Though the history of our own minds ought to teach us the contrary, inasmuch as our horizon is perpetually changing, we insist that whatever happens to be our horizon at the moment is the one horizon of the universe. Although the whole history of the world, above all that of the Church, is an ever reiterated declaration that the riches of truth are infinite and of infinite variety, and that no human mind has ever been able to grasp more than a small portion of them, we can hardly be withheld from pronouncing, at the selfsame moment, that the wisdom of all former ages has been partial and bounded, and that our own is complete and unbounded.

Now a slight survey of the history of the Church might convince us that the very differences by which our own Church in these days has been so grievously divided and distracted, have existed in all ages of her course, — coming forward indeed more prominently at one time, less prominently at another, and with an alternating predominance in the body of her members,— and that they may even be traced back to the Apostolic age. Nor will it surprise any person acquainted with the attempts made so repeatedly to devise a mode of reconciling the statements of St Paul and St James on the very doctrine, which now, as in a certain sense almost throughout, has been the chief topic of contention, the doctrine of Justification, if I venture to say that the germs of the difference are to be found in the Apostolic Canon itself; only that the Apostles were preserved by their Heavenly Teacher from those

excesses in their statements of doctrine, into which the pride and presumption of human nature are ever running. In no one, except Him who was the perfect Wisdom of God, did all truth become incarnate: and though the promise of the Spirit was given to the Apostles, and in them to the Church, with the assurance that He should lead them to the whole truth, this promise was only to be fulfilled collectively in the whole Church, not in any one individual. Every living member of Christ is to have a portion of truth breathed into him, sufficient to form a ground of union with the rest of the body; but no member, except the Head, is to have all. Moreover every member is to recognize those portions of truth, those particles of spiritual life, wherewith the other members are animated, and not to reject them as alien from Christ, because they are different from his own. The eye is not to demand that the whole body shall be eye; nor the ear, that the whole shall be ear. These are propositions, the truth of which, when they are stated thus generally, none of us will dispute: and yet it is marvellous how perpetually we are almost all sinning against them, in thought, in feeling, and in action. For there is a kind of fallacy inherent in our very constitution. The eye cannot conceive that there is anything visible, except what it sees itself; nor can the ear conceive that there is anything to be heard, except what it hears itself; still less can the eye see sounds, or the ear hear sights: nor again can the understanding well conceive that there is any knowledge to be understood, except what it understands itself. Thus each of our faculties, according to the egotistical perversion of our nature, is fond of

seating itself on the throne of judgement, and pronouncing sentence against everything with which it is not familiar: and the constraining power of experience and moral discipline are needed, before we become ready to allow that there are worlds of visible things beyond the range of our eyes, and innumerable sounds beyond the range of our ears, and infinite masses of knowledge beyond the range of our understandings. Nor is this a lesson which we can learn at once, or ever wholly: we need to have it continually imprest upon us anew, so that it may not fade away from our consciousness, but may be a living monitor to guide our minds, and temper our hearts.

When we look back with any attention and reflexion on the history of the Church, it may seem that one of the first convictions which must force itself upon us, must be, that in the moral and spiritual, no less than in the natural world, the forms of life are indefinitely various; and that, as in the Ark, by which the remnants of a former race were preserved from the universal destruction, all forms of natural life were congregated, so are all the modes and forms of spiritual life gathered in the Church of that Lord, who came to rescue mankind from the all-destroying deluge of sin. Under all these forms however, one and the same Spirit manifests Himself; and by Him are they incorporated into the one body of Christ. This ought to be the result of such a survey; and yet even among the historians of the Church, whose researches and speculations ought to render them familiar with this spectacle, how few have been really able to discern and recognize any other forms and modes of spiritual life, than those to which their

own habitual prepossessions have attacht them! Thus, instead of learning from history to emancipate themselves from their narrow clinging prejudices, they carry those prejudices along, and distort history by means of them (A).

Even in the college of Apostles, as I have remarkt, a diversity is observable, owing in part to their natural character and temper, in part to their habits of thought. For the work of the Spirit, as is plainly seen both in them, and in the Prophets under the prior dispensation, and as has been manifested abundantly since in the chief saints and teachers of the Church, is not to blunt the edge, and round the points of individual character, not to cast all men into the same mould, and to shape them all after the same pattern, but to bring out and purify and perfect the peculiar qualities and gifts of each. Hence even in the inspired writings which make up the Canon of the New Testament, we find that certain portions of the same divine truth were proclaimed more distinctly and cordially by one writer, other portions by another. Among the wisest and holiest saints, who were all animated by the same living faith in the Divine Father, reconciled to us by the Atonement of His Son, and sending His Spirit into our hearts, from whom alone all good must come, there have still been great diversities of doctrine and opinion, partly from circumstances of time, place, education, association, partly from the very constitution of their minds, better fitted for the reception and assimilation of some portions of the truth than of others. There have been diversities from age to age, as fresh portions of the truth have come within our intellectual vision. There have been diversities and differences among the wisest and best

men of the same age, not necessarily implying any positive errour, but merely the imperfection and finiteness of their faculties. Moreover, as the natural consequence of this imperfection, the errours which have prevailed, where the holders of them were sincere and faithful, have mostly been of two kinds; errours of excess, the result of pushing a doctrine too far, from losing sight of the counterbalancing or complementary doctrines; and errours of denial, with regard to such doctrines as did not seem easily reconcilable with those which were deemed of paramount importance. Into these two classes of errours even good men are very apt to fall. They are apt to exaggerate the importance of those truths which have struck the most forcibly on their own hearts and understandings, and which to them may be everything they need, but which may not come home with equal power to others, in different circumstances, and with differently constituted organs of perception; and they are too ready to deny the importance of those truths, which may never have been brought distinctly and strongly before them. Yet here again their own experience ought to teach them, that, amid the infinite riches of truth stored up for mankind in the Scriptures, there are portions adapted, as it were, for every emergency, for every peculiar state of heart or mind,—that there are truths to which at one time they have found no response in themselves, but which at other times overflow with refreshment and comfort. Surely then, if this be the case perpetually with ourselves, we should acknowledge that this may, nay, that it must be so with others: nor should we require that all men should be equally

imprest with those truths, which seem at the moment the most impressive to us.

In looking back, I say, through the history of the Church, we find that there have always been two main streams of theological doctrine, proceeding, like the rivers which issued out of Paradise, from the same heavenly source, but flowing down from that source, the one through the channel of St Paul, the other through that of St James; one in their origin, as the doctrine of St Paul is with that of St James, and perfectly consistent with each other, but, when viewed at a distance from their source, often seeming to run in contrary directions, more especially after men begin to embank and lock up the living waters, and to turn them into artificial courses. Nor do we see these differences merely among individuals, but also at times characterizing distinct branches of the Church. Thus a different tone of doctrine prevailed in the Eastern Church, from that which since the time of Ambrose and Augustin became predominant in the Western. Yet who, except a narrowminded and ignorant bigot, will deny that Athanasius and Basil and Chrysostom were masters in Christian doctrine, although certain portions of the truth were not brought out so distinctly before their minds, as before that of Augustin. Nor again will any wise and candid man question that Anselm, and Bernard, and Aquinas, and the other great divines of the middle ages, were animated by the Spirit of truth, although the mind of their generation was not fully awakened to a consciousness of certain inestimable truths, which were never duly recognized, after the Apostolic age, until Luther was ordained to inscribe them on the holy banner of the

Reformation. I am not here presuming to measure the relative value and importance of the several portions of divine truth. Some parts, I readily acknowledge, may be far more important, both in themselves, and with regard to their moral efficacy, than others; even as in any organic structure some members are more indispensable than others, for the chief vital functions, and for life itself. At the same time it behoves us to bear in mind that, if the partial notions of Christian truth, which were current in the middle ages, opened a way for numberless abuses and corruptions, the very doctrine of justification by faith was perverted in Luther's own days, as it had been in St Paul's, and has been ever since, into the wildest extravagances of Antinomianism. The proposition I am anxious to urge is, that where we see such evidence of the presence of the Spirit of Christ, as is afforded by Christian zeal and holiness and self-denial and love, we are not warranted in questioning the presence of that Spirit, on the strength of certain doctrinal propositions which do not seem to fit exactly into our own theological system. On the contrary it would rather beseem us to enquire whether this may not arise from the narrowness or incompleteness of that system itself. We hear the charge of heresy in these days bandied to and fro, as if it were a light matter. Even grave and thoughtful men, whose own sufferings from evil report ought to have taught them humility and charity, will audaciously take upon themselves to affix this hateful name to the wisest and holiest champions of the faith. Let us, my brethren, abstain from such unchristian presumption. Let us endeavour to keep our own faith, and our own doctrine, straight before

God: and let us leave the condemnation of our brethren, if indeed they are to be condemned, for erroneous teaching to those who are called to exercise judgement by their position and authority in the Church. If we meet with propositions here and there, which startle us, and seem to contradict our own convictions, let us call to mind how many texts in the Bible itself seem at first sight inconsistent with other texts, and can only be reconciled with them by the most careful examination and comparison. Above all, let us beware lest, while charging our opponents with impugning the truths declared by St Paul, we furnish ground for the recrimination, that we ourselves have not paid sufficient regard to the Catholic Epistles and the Gospels.

Considerable varieties in doctrinal views, I have been remarking, are proved by the history of the Church to be quite compatible with the presence of the Spirit of Truth in the soul. I might exemplify this by comparing the principal Monastic orders together, or the Mystics with the Schoolmen, or the Jansenists in later ages with the ordinary teaching of the Romish Church. But it will be more to our present purpose to observe, that the Church of England, at and since the Reformation, has wisely taken special care to recognize, by the cautious and judicious manner in which her Formularies are drawn up, that there are many questions of doctrine on which her members, and even her Ministers, may allowably differ. This is the *Via Media* so much spoken of, which she desired to tread; not a *Juste Milieu*, in which opposite opinions are to neutralize each other; but a zodiacal path in which they may move on harmoniously together on each side of the equator;—not

again, as it is sometimes represented, a narrow, winding byroad, following the contortions of an individual mind, and hedged in with thorny thickets to exclude all save the few privileged engrossers of the truth; but a wide expanse, where all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity of heart, and acknowledge the Catholic Creeds of the Church, and will pay due obedience to her ordinances, may walk side by side. Among our leading divines too, while a few, such as Hooker, Sanderson, and Field, seem to have had a like expansive intellect, able to embrace and combine opposite truths, the chief part have a strong bias on one side or the other. Yet both classes are true and lawful children of the same mother: and even though our own leanings and partialities may be to the side of Leighton and Hall and Davenant and Ussher and Donne, though we may think that they have given a clearer and fuller enunciation of what seem to us the fundamental truths in the Gospel, yet no wise man will assert that Taylor and Thorndike and Bull do not deserve to be held in honour as genuine and worthy sons of our Church. It is prettily remarkt by St Bernard, that the vesture of Christ is not only to be without seam, woven from the top throughout, but also, like the coat of him who was in so many things a type of our Lord, of divers colours, through the manifold gifts bestowed on the Church by one and the same Spirit; and again, that, as there are many mansions in our Heavenly Father's house, so are there many paths leading to those mansions (B). Now, while we are to be pressing onward along our appointed path toward the particular mansion set before us, it will only interrupt and hinder us if we try to

compell others to quit their paths, and to walk in our train.

I have been saying much, too much you may think, on this subject. But no one among you can doubt that the voice of the peacemaker, vain as it may usually prove, and loth as all parties may be to listen to it, is much needed now. In truth, whenever any fresh awakening of religious zeal sets men's hearts and minds astir, our Lord's declaration that He came, not to send peace upon earth, but a sword, is found to be still receiving its fulfilment; and too often His ministers, mistaking its meaning, fancy that they themselves are to wield the sword, instead of merely suffering from the violence with which His enemies wield it. Besides there are sundry unfortunate peculiarities in the circumstances of our times, which tend to exasperate controversies, and to make every man and woman, and almost every child, take part in them. Above all, there are religious journals, and that strange anomaly and nuisance, religious newspapers, a sort of vermin springing up in the stagnant mud of the press, which live almost by fostering and inflaming animosities. The age of patient study would seem to have wellnigh past away; and one of the curses of party-spirit has ever been, that it deadens the sense of personal responsibility, which would otherwise make an honest man feel that he ought to know what he is condemning. Not one person in a hundred, among those who speak with the greatest confidence and heat on the theological disputes of the day, will even pretend that he has attentively and candidly examined a single one of the more elaborate works, against which he is in the habit of inveying. But our favorite

magazine or newspaper supplies us every now and then with an extract, which, standing by itself, seems to offend against our views of the Gospel; while railing, with more or less of salt, more or less of venom in it, is served up daily and weekly and monthly and quarterly, as a substitute for argument (c). Now few minds are steady and well-balanced enough, not to be driven out of a right line, when such forces are continually acting upon them. Indeed my conviction of the mischief which must almost unavoidably result from the influence of a journal, cherishing and exaggerating our prepossessions, is so strong, that I have for many years found it expedient to lay down a rule for my own practice, to confine my reading mainly to those journals, the general line of opinions in which is adverse to my own. This is a prudential maxim, which I think I may safely recommend to you; for thus your reading, instead of increasing any prejudice that you may be conscious of, would rather tend to allay it, or would at all events give you an insight into the character and purport of the opinions you impugn. And surely, if one is to place oneself on the seat of judgement, one ought carefully to ascertain what the culprit has to say for himself, in what his offense really consists, before one pronounces sentence against him.

It is true, while the history of the Church shews us how widely holy men have often differed from each other in their theological notions, it also shews us, in too many instances, that their holiness has not overcome the infirmities of their nature, and that they have been over-ready to condemn and anathematize the doctrines, the truth of which they could not discern. In this respect

however, if they are held up to us, it should not be for imitation, but for grave and solemn warning. When we look back at them from our present distance, we perceive how that which was precious in them, was the Christian truth which they held in common; how that which was worthless, was the excesses and negations, which formed the ground and material of their differences. The clouds and storms have past away: the blue sky abides. This is one of the thoughts that comfort us, when we are pained by reading of the vehemence with which good and holy men have contended against one another. The great Christian philosopher of these latter times, in one of the numberless beautiful passages which gem his writings, speaks of his delight in reflecting with what joy and dearness the blessed spirits of Hammond and Baxter are now loving each other (D). Let that which is saddening in the aspect of religious controversies, and that which is soothing in the thought what love must have dawned on the combatants, when the mists of this world were swept away from before them, move us to refrain watchfully from exaggerating the errours of such of our brethren as may differ from us, to look behind the mask of their opinions, which so often are nothing more than a mask, and that too disfigured and distorted by the blows and wrenches it has received, and to rejoice in acknowledging whatsoever graces the Spirit of God may have enricht them with.

Not that I mean hereby to question the duty, which, as it is incumbent on all the members of the Church, according to the measure of their knowledge, is so especially on her ministers, of contending earnestly for the faith, for its purity, and for its integrity. Not that I

would urge you to seek peace by lax indulgence to errour, and the sacrifice, or the compromise of truth. Such peace would be false and hollow; and the loss would be far greater than the gain. If it be indeed the case, that any of the essential doctrines of Christianity have been misrepresented and perverted in the opinions which have recently gained so much vogue, it behoves us to be even more than ordinarily diligent in proclaiming and enforcing those very doctrines. For this is ever the most efficacious and the most beneficial mode of putting down an errour; not by a direct refutation, however subtile and cogent, but by setting forth the truth which it contravenes in clearer power and glory. This is the best mode, both for the person who adopts it, and for others; because it is far wholesomer to be engaged in constructive, than in destructive operations,—in the assertion of truth, which is a work of love, as well for the truth itself, as for the persons one desires to win to it, than in the exposition of falsehood, which is apt to breed harshness and bitterness and animosity and scorn; and because, even if you succeed in removing an errour from a man's mind, you render him a sorry service, unless you replace it with something that will afford nourishment to his intellect and his feelings. Still, so wayward is the course of this world, so many tangled sophistries are ever springing up across the path along which Reason would fain advance, that it is often expedient and necessary to assail errour with a direct contradiction. Thus St Paul felt himself bound to withstand St Peter to the face, in a matter involving the very question of justification, which in one way or other lies at the bottom of so many of the disputes whereby the

Church has been agitated. Thus too all the Apostles were engaged from the earliest times in contending against the teachers of false and carnal and licentious notions, even within the pale of the Church. Indeed for the wellbeing of the Church such a perpetual sifting and winnowing, in order to get rid of the chaff, is absolutely necessary. He who came to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven, bore His fan in His hand. For though a large amount of errour with regard to dogmas may exist in the understandings of individuals, and yet lie dormant in their hearts, without material detriment to their spiritual life, the same errours, if generally received and openly taught, could not be otherwise than pernicious; as we see in the Romish Church, which, notwithstanding its gross errours, has been adorned by many holy and godly men, yet in which these errours have exercised a noxious influence on the body of the people. Therefore every form of errour, with which Satan vexes and harasses the Church, is to be striven against, until it be exterminated. When we are commanded to begin by casting the beam out of our own eye, it is not with the intention that we should leave the mote sticking in our brother's eye, but in order that we may see clearly to cast that out also. Only let us ever bear in mind, that this is our aim, not to wound and lacerate our brother's eye,—not, as is the manner of some, to thrust in the mote still further, to the end that they may boast themselves against him,—but to cast it out; an operation, which in so delicate and inflammable a member should be performed with the utmost steadiness and calmness and gentleness. And if we are to do this successfully, we must endeavour in the first place to cast out all evil

and bitter and hostile feelings out of our own eyes, as such a beam would inevitably darken them, and to set about the work as a work of love. Against falsehood, wilful or careless misrepresentation, detraction, slander, as against other sins, we may warrantably use the severity of rebuke; but where the errour is of the understanding, and where the heart, in spite of it, is to all appearance pure and upright, our object surely ought not to be to confound and crush our brother in the midst of his darkness, but to deliver him, and bring him out into the clear glad light of truth.

In this way does it behove those who are qualified for doing so, to combat the errours, if there are any in our days, lifting up their heads in the Church. I have spoken throughout problematically, without taking upon myself to pronounce in this place that any particular errours are indeed prevailing. Not that I would be understood in so doing to imply that I am in a state of uncertainty as to whether this is the case or not. But, though it may be right for a person invested with episcopal authority, when addressing his spiritual children, to warn them against errours which he may deem likely to mislead them, without detailing the reasons of his apprehension, it would not beseem me to speak on so grave and solemn themes, unless I prepared the way for my sentence by such a full exposition of the subject matter, as would be very inappropriate on this occasion, were it only from the demand on your patience, which even without will be more than sufficiently taxt. All of us however, so many as deem that there are hurtful errours spreading in our Church, may do something in the way of resisting

them, and of winning back our brethren to the truth: even those may do much, who do not feel qualified for entering the lists of argumentative discussion. In the first place, we may all be more diligent and strenuous in bringing forward those truths which we think likely to be thrown into the background. Again, to the end that we may not exasperate our opponents, and confirm them in their errours, we may refrain, and should do so carefully, from all that bitterness and violence of speech, and from those sweeping condemnations of whole classes for the extravagance and folly of a few hotheaded or halfwitted zealots, which are especially common where persons are ignorant of the real nature and grounds of the controversy, and have taken no pains to clear up this ignorance, but pin their flimsy faith to one or other of those noisome journals which amuse and scare the so-called religious public.

Moreover, as union in action is ever among the best ways of producing unity of feeling, we may one and all rouse ourselves, and call upon our brethren to rouse themselves, to greater energy and assiduity in those high and arduous works, which God has appointed for this age of His Church. Alas! while we are quarreling and reviling each other, the Man of Sin is gaining ground against us. Can we not unite to repell him? Would not this be a nobler and more blessed work than tearing each other to tatters? We have much to do to resist him, — much, each of us, in our own hearts,—much in our several parishes,—much in England at large,—much in every quarter of the earth. I have already detained you so long, that I must confine myself to

touching very briefly on two or three of these subjects; and I am the better able to do this, as in both my former Charges, and in the Notes subjoined to them, I have endeavoured to set forth some of the main obligations, which appear to me to be imposed on us by the present condition of our Church. In such matters it is not to be expected that each year will supply a fresh series of topics. That which was our work last year, is still our work this year, and will continue to be so, until it is accomplisht: and though the Church of late years seems in some respects to have partaken in the universal acceleration, a long time, I am afraid, will elapse, before the objects, to which I have formerly called your attention, will be thoroughly effected.

At all events it will undoubtedly be long before we can establish anything like a sound system of moral discipline in our parishes. On this question I will add nothing today to my previous observations, except by recommending it again to your gravest and most earnest consideration, both privately, and when you assemble in chapter. I have received additional assurances that the measures suggested in the Notes on my last Charge have been attended with beneficial results. Penally they may be deemed feeble; but they are not without effect in awakening and fostering, what we so much desire and need, the feeling of shame in the bosoms of our women. As to the course which it may be expedient to adopt toward hardened offenders, it would perhaps be premature at this moment to say anything. I trust that, ere many years have past by, our Ecclesiastical Courts will be rendered more efficient for this

purpose also. But as a Bill is about to be brought before the Legislature, to regulate the jurisdiction of these Courts, as nothing is yet known concerning the provisions of this Bill, and as at this period of the Session it will scarcely be introduced with any intention of its becoming law this year, it will be better to suspend our remarks on this subject till we are possest of further information.

With regard to the Circular however, which I addrest to you last summer, requesting you to supply me with a statement of the number of illegitimate births in your parishes, during each of the last twelve years, taking this period in order that we might have six years anterior, and six subsequent to the introduction of the new Poorlaw, in the hope of getting some sort of means for judging what the operation of that law in this respect has actually been, you will doubtless be anxious to learn the result. From a few parishes, owing probably to some accident, no returns have been sent to me. But a tabular survey of those which I have received enables me to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the result which would have been obtained from the whole Archdeaconry; and when I first cast my eyes along that table, a ghastly sight it was. Yet, although it exhibited a fearful increase of above twenty per cent, in the number of illegitimate children baptized since the year 1834, I will not take upon me to assert that this is a decisive proof that the clauses of the Poorlaw bearing on this matter are on the whole injurious. Even if the result had been the other way, exhibiting a considerable diminution, I should have hesitated about allowing that this was attributable

solely, or even mainly, to the new Poorlaw. For some beneficial effects, in this respect also, might surely be expected from improvements in our parochial education, and from the increast activity of our Clergy. But it was truly dismal to see, that, notwithstanding these counteracting causes, the change had been so greatly for the worse; and when, on casting up the numbers, I found that above eleven hundred children have been born out of wedlock during the last six years in the Archdeaconry, the startling spectacle did indeed convince me that we have ample work for far greater strength than we are at present able to muster in fighting against the Man of Sin in our parishes (E). In one or two parishes only has any considerable diminution taken place; and when I tried in one case to ascertain the cause, the improvement seemed to have arisen from the conscientious exertions of the Minister, who, in reply to my enquiry as to the means he had used, said, he was not conscious of any other, than fervent, constant, and, he hoped, faithful prayer, bold, uncompromising preaching, and exhortation in private to matrons and mothers of families with regard to the younger women. Through God's blessing vouchsafed to these means, the number of illegitimate children baptized in his parish has been reduced, from nineteen in the first six years, to five in the last six; and I venture to recommend the same course to you all, which, if you follow it perseveringly, God will assuredly bless, so that, with His grace, you may hope to lessen the prevalence of this terrible sin among our people.

This too is a part of England, which in many respects may be deemed peculiarly favoured. For in our county

we have none of those hotbeds of sin, which Mammon has been heaping up so assiduously during the last half century. But when we cast our eyes over some parts of England, does it not indeed seem as if the whole head were sick, and the whole heart faint? as though from the sole of the foot to the head there were nothing but wounds and bruises and putrefying sores? All of you must have read some accounts of those horrours, of those disgraces to human nature, which have recently been brought to light by the energy and perseverance of the noble protector and champion of the poor. You will have read stories of the abominations which in this nineteenth century of Christianity are habitually perpetrated in our coal-mines; abominations, the like of which have scarcely been found among the most savage tribes, or the most corrupt nations of Heathendom. And this is only a portion of the vice and misery, of the degradation, moral and physical, on which the commercial wealth of England rests. Here then, my brethren, is work for us. If we have any strength to spare, beyond what we need for the culture of our own parishes, and if we must spend it in fighting,—I would not dissuade you from doing so: let us do so by all means; let us fight boldly and continually, with the arms which God has placed in our hands: only, instead of fighting against each other, let us fight against Sin; let us fight against Belial; let us fight against Mammon; let us fight against Ashtaroth; let us help Lord Ashley in his heroic and godly endeavour to deliver the children of England from the moral desolation, to which the Spirit of Commerce is dooming them. It is a painful thought, that, although our Church is so intimately united to the State, and although her Ministers

ought to have deemed it their great political task to prompt and urge the State to the fulfilment of its moral duties, and to rouse it to noble and generous enterprises in the cause of humanity, we have wofully neglected this our task for the last hundred and fifty years. We have been quarreling interminably with each other, and quarreling in all manner of warfare with the Dissenters, instead of calling upon the nation to serve God, and to cast away its idolatrous abominations, and to consecrate its mighty powers to the holy work of spreading the Kingdom of Christ through the whole length and breadth of that enormous empire over which the Soverein of England bears sway. Had we been more diligent in this work, we should have had less time for quarreling, and less inclination, and fewer objects of contention. Union in action would have prevented division; and so it would do now.

Another great work, in which we may all unite, is the diffusion and improvement of education. Having said so much on this head in my former Charges, I will only again remind you that education is not a work which can be done once for all, by a single spirt of zeal, but that it requires continuous, patient, persevering exertion. A few years since, when a plan of education was brought forward by the Government, which, it was deemed, would deprive the Clergy of the superintendence of our national education, we were all on the alarm, all on the alert. We exclaimed that it was an unholy measure, that it ought not to be, and must not be; for that the Clergy alone were qualified to be the educaters of the people. That this is indeed so,—that, through our relation to our parishioners, if we fulfill our duty, and if we do not allow

sectarian prejudices to warp and cramp our minds, we are better fitted than any other persons could be to superintend the education of the children in our parishes,—and that this would be the best safeguard against the numerous temptations, which, in this age more especially, would seduce parents into caring little about any education for their children, except such as may help them to get on in this world,—I am fully persuaded. Let it not be said of us however, that our zeal in the cause of education was merely kindled by opposition, and that, when the opposition subsided, it died away. In many cases, I readily believe, this has not been the case: the activity which was then excited, has been lasting, and has even increast. But may I not ask you, my brethren, whether you all feel the same lively interest in the education of the people, the same strong practical conviction that it is the office and duty of the Clergy to watch over and direct that education, which you manifested four years ago? There is nothing invidious in such a question. On the contrary it is the universal tendency of human nature to be astir in a storm, and to flag in a calm. Therefore, when the calm has returned, we need to be frequently reminded of our former professions, and admonisht not to let our activity fall short of them. Under the impulses of that zeal, it was resolved to form a new branch of our Diocesan Association, connected with education, and to found a Training School for Masters; and this has now been followed by the establishment of a Training School for Mistresses at Brighton. About the former, I believe, there is some difference of opinion: on the desirableness of the latter all are agreed. For my own part I am convinced that both are excellent institutions, and that

our Diocese, though one of the smallest, is well able to support them both, if we awake to a right sense of the duties of our Christian calling. At the same time our undertakings are of such magnitude that they cannot be carried on without general efforts to support them. Hence, at the Meeting of the Committee of the Association in December last, the members present, without the expression of a difference, united in requesting our late Bishop to issue a Circular this year, and every year, calling upon the Clergy of the Diocese to make a collection in every parish-church in support of objects of such wide and lasting utility. And here, my brethren, I regret to say that there must be some amongst you, with whom I feel bound to remonstrate. When I lookt over the list of Collections made in compliance with the Circular of last year, I was much grieved to observe that the names of nearly eighty parishes in this Archdeaconry, about half of the whole number, were wanting. Surely, my brethren, this is not as it should be. Surely, when the Diocese has such great works in hand, and still greater, with God's blessing, for the promotion of His glory, before us,—when God is stirring up the hearts of many to make sacrifices and to practise self-denial for the promotion of these works,—surely it is not right, it is not becoming, that any parish should be deprived of the privilege of taking part in them. For this is the true light to look at the matter in. It is a privilege and a blessing, for the poor as well as the rich, for all, one with another, for the lord, for the squire, for the farmer, for the tradesman, for the mechanic, for the husbandman, to be called upon to join together in giving of that which they have received from God, for the building up of His Church in the hearts and

minds of His people. Look upon it, I beseech you, in this light. Let me not be under the necessity of thinking that you do not deem it a privilege, that you deem it a burthen, and that from that burthen you would shrink. For suppose, we view this Diocese as a portion of the Church Militant, that is now gathering her strength for the battle against ignorance and ungodliness and sin; what must be the portion of those who would lag behind, or slink away from this glorious battle? what must be the portion of those who would keep all they have to themselves, and will not spend any portion of it in the cause of God, and for the endless good of their brethren? (F).

You may think this is a string on which I harpt sufficiently last year. But I am afraid it is a string on which, if my life be prolonged, I shall have to harp year after year. For alas! in this country, which is enricht so greatly above all others by God's bounty, there are still vast multitudes who have no notion that they hold their wealth in stewardship, or that they are bound to give back any portion of it to the Giver. It is true, many munificent persons are to be found at this day in England. Liberality, through God's blessing, is increasing, is becoming less rare, and higher in kind, more self-denying and self-sacrificing. But still there are numbers who have always enough to answer every call except that of charity, the very sound of which ties up their pursestrings, and makes them fancy themselves on the verge of poverty, so that they begin exclaiming in a nervous agitation that it is quite impossible to comply with such continually repeated demands. Not however that such persons do really run much risk of

beggaring themselves: for fear of being inundated with visiters, they take care not to be at home to anybody. Numberless too as have been the bankruptcies of late years, I have not heard of one that has been occasioned by giving over much to God. The expenditure which brings ruin is offered up at very different shrines.

The next subject I have to touch on is connected with these last observations. It was resolved, as most of you must be aware, at meetings held during the last twelvemonth in several of the principal places in the Archdeaconry, that greater exertions should be made in support of the Missionary work of the Church, and that Associations in aid of it should be formed in every parish, either severally, or in union with some of the adjacent parishes. The time will not allow me to enter into those considerations pertaining to this subject, important as they are, on which I have spoken in the Notes to my last Charge. But, while I express my gratitude for the kindness with which I was received by you, wherever I went, and the satisfaction I felt at the cordial pleasure with which you hailed my invitation, and enforced it by your speeches at our meetings, I would fain ask you here again,—as this is a sort of annual account-day,—what has been done in consequence of those resolutions? Have you all made much progress in forming the Associations determined on? At all events I trust that the speakers at our meetings, who so earnestly urged the duty incumbent on all the members of our Church, to take a lively, active interest in the diffusion of the Gospel, will have strengthened and crowned their words with their example. This is a matter of the deepest and most pressing importance; and every year the magnitude of the

work increases. We have much past negligence to atone for: our long continued torpour has been a disgrace to our Church, and has been fraught with calamities to it: and so awful is the duty imposed on England, so blessed is the privilege to which she above all other nations is especially called, to labour for the extension of Christ's Kingdom, that it behoves us, my brethren, not to rest until something is effected for the furtherance of this glorious work in every parish, even in the very smallest and poorest, throughout the land. Some of you may fear that you will not be able to do much: but let not this discourage you: set to work heartily; and difficulties will smoothe themselves before you. The coward's and sluggard's lion dwindles into a mouse before the bold. Among the poor you will ever find many, whose hearts will readily open to sympathy with their brethren in the Colonies, and still more with the heathens. That the middle classes may be awakened to feel a warm interest in such things, is proved by the large sums raised by some of the Missionary Societies among the Dissenters, collections which quite shame our Church by the comparison.

Here let me introduce a remark on a point, which some may deem trifling, but which seems to me of no small moral importance. Our Saviour's command is, that, when we do our alms, we are not to let the left hand know what the right hand is doing. How scrupulously this command is complied with in the Reports of our Societies, everybody is aware. More than half the volume is often filled with lists of the subscribers, whose names and gifts are thus paraded to the world. Surely this is not a right practice for Societies which aim at such objects as the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Propagation of

the Gospel, and the bringing of the heathens into the Kingdom of Christ. Bodies engaged in such works ought to be watchful over the minutest details of their conduct. And why, for what purpose, is this ostentatious peacock's tail to spread itself out at the end of our Reports? what should withhold us from docking it? from trying at least to get rid of it? Why should not each parish send up its annual contribution, in whatever way collected, in one mass, as the offering of the parish toward the Missionary work of the Church, without any mention of individual names? (G) This would bear witness to our acting as one body, instead of in insulation, and would put an end to a practice which must needs be offensive to every person of right feelings. To this plan I have only heard two objections. It is contended that the present system gains more money, many being induced to give something for the sake of seeing their names in the Reports. Hereto it would be a sufficient reply, that we must not do evil, or entice others to do evil, in order that good may come of it; if indeed money drawn from such a source can be called good. But I would deny the proposition altogether. Vanity is never liberal, never has been so, never will be so. Whatever vanity does in the way of good works, will be done at the least possible cost: for it is a niggard, barren, tumid, and empty. Meanwhile, by appealing to bad motives and fostering them, we check the growth of better principles, and dwarf, if we do not altogether crush them. The meagre and almost unvaried string of guinea-subscribers in our Reports is itself a proof that such motives are impotent to make men give largely. Call upon a man to give to the glory of God, for the Christian education of his

destitute fellow-countrymen, for the conversion of the heathens; and he may rejoice to spend and be spent for such a purpose. But if he is merely to see his name in a list of subscribers, a mite will procure him that honour. The second objection has not more force than the first, namely, that the lists are a check against malversation of the sums collected, and that they prevent suspicions, to which certain tempers would otherwise be prone. The same end might however be attained within the parish, if a quarterly or annual statement of the sums collected were drawn up by the Treasurer, and laid before the Committee. The Reports of the Societies would afterward shew that the gross amount of the monies raised in the parish for each Society had been transmitted to their destination. After what I have often said on the desirableness of inducing the Laity to take an active part in the works of the Church, it cannot be requisite for me to add here, that I should deem it advisable that the Treasurer of the Parochial Association should be a layman, wherever one qualified and willing to undertake the office can be found. Nor need I again repeat that, for the whole work of these Associations, you will mostly be able, at least after a short time, when the minds of your parishioners have been in some measure awakened on this great Christian duty, to obtain valuable aid among the Laity, especially from the female part of them. And you will be conferring a great and lasting benefit upon them, if you can lead them to take a lively and active interest in promoting the objects of your Association. They who consent to act as collectors are brought thereby into a profitable intercourse with the more religiously disposed

among the poor; and such an intercourse brings down a blessing upon both parties.

A powerful reason and motive for greater activity in this work is to be found in the wonderful manner in which God has recently blest our feeble and scanty efforts. The Church herself has taken a great spring forward through the resolution to send out Bishops to all our Colonies. The rich harvest with which the labours of some of our Missionaries have recently been rewarded, almost carries us back to the first ages of the Church, and bears witness that, in the spiritual world also, the increase may be out of all calculable proportion to the seed sown. At the same time God has shewn in the last year, that He still vouchsafes to honour those who endeavour, however imperfectly, to honour Him. For assuredly it has been a singular honour granted to our Church, that the King of Prussia should have been moved to seek her aid, in order that he might execute his godly purpose of sending a Bishop of the Reformed Church to Jerusalem. The time will not allow me to speak as I would on this glorious and blessed event: but having twice already addrest you on occasion of it, I cannot withhold the expression of my pleasure at having found such lively and almost unanimous sympathy with my own feelings among you. To me it appeared to be an event rich in blessed promise. Not to dwell on the joy, which, it seemed to me, every true son of our Church must needs feel at the thought of seeing one of her Bishops seated on the holy hill of Zion, in the city of the Saviour; not to speak of the practical benefits which may be expected from our having our missionaries and other ministers in Syria and Egypt under episcopal superintendence;

two boundless prospects seemed at once to open before our eyes, carrying them forward into distant ages. On the one hand it appeared as though we should hereby obtain the most favorable opportunities for entering into communication and connexion with the ancient Churches of the East, and might thus become the means of imparting some of those blessings to them, which have been bestowed so richly on our own Church, in a purer doctrine and ritual and a more spiritual faith. On the other hand, there was a kind of promise, that through the same event, whereby we were thus brought into intimate relations with the Church of Prussia, our Church might be enabled to aid in perfecting the discipline and constitution of the Reformed Churches on the Continent, so that the institutions which they reluctantly lost through the peculiar circumstances of their Reformation, should be restored to them by our hands. All these prospects were set before us; and the rulers of our Church blest God for them, and hailed them with delight. I am not going to enter here into the painful controversy which has since arisen. With surprise and deep regret did I first learn that any members of our Church, professing to love her and her Lord, lookt with repugnance and aversion on a measure, which was assuredly conceived and carried on, as few measures ever have been, in the pure spirit of Christian love (H). Under this conviction, although I should be very unwilling to take any step in my official capacity, which appeared likely to provoke contention, yet, when the great and good King, in whose bosom the whole plan was conceived, and who had all along shewn such exemplary generosity and disinterestedness,—leaving the whole

arrangement of the details of the measure, and the appointment of the first Bishop to the Prelates of our Church,—came to England at the invitation of our Queen, and when a considerable number of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry called upon me to prepare an address to him, I readily and gladly acceded to their request. For I felt sure that there could be very few, if any, amongst you, who partook in the above-mentioned repugnance and aversion. And this confidence was fully justified by the result. Hardly anything connected with my office has given me so much pleasure as the letters which poured in upon me from all quarters, expressing the heartiest concurrence in the proposed Address, and the liveliest joy at the events which occasioned it. A hundred and fifty-five Clergy out of about a hundred and eighty,—the whole number in the Archdeaconry,—joined in signing it; and among the few who did not, we may reasonably suppose that a considerable portion were withheld by accidental causes, or by slight scruples about points of form, far short of positive disapprobation. Such of you as had the happiness of accompanying me when our Address was presented to the good King, must assuredly have rejoiced that you had given expression to feelings by which he was so evidently toucht, and which he declared would awaken sympathy and delight throughout all Germany (1). I could have wisht that other portions of our Church had testified their joy and gratitude in a like manner; but as it is, I feel most thankful that our Archdeaconry, though it stood almost alone, had the privilege of doing so. Doubtless, when the King of Prussia is hereafter pursuing his plans for strengthening and purifying Christ's Church in his own dominions,

should he look to the Church of England for aid in doing so, our Address will be an encouraging assurance that there is at least one portion of the English Church, which will rejoice and give thanks, when all the Reformed Churches can be united together in perfect union and communion.

The last year has been so rich in matters interesting to the Church, that I have left myself no time to speak to you, as I fain would have done, about the Meeting of our Convocation, and about the attempt made at that Meeting to prepare the way for a time, which, I trust, is not far distant, when the Convocation will be allowed to sit and discuss ecclesiastical questions (J). Nor can I say anything this year concerning our Rural Chapters. But on this point I forbear more willingly, having spoken at such length about them in the latter part of my last year's Charge, which, in the hope of aiding you in rendering them more efficient, I enlarged considerably as it was passing through the press. I will merely exhort you all again, the Rural Deans more especially, to go to these Meetings with the earnest purpose of receiving and conferring good. If you go there idly, thoughtlessly, as a matter of form, you will derive no benefit from them. But if you seek good, you will find it. And the same is the case, as you must often have told your congregations, even with our attendance at divine worship. I have reason to believe that similar institutions are about to be revived in other Dioceses; and among the benefits which may be expected from them, I trust they will prepare and fit us for the time when our whole Church shall assemble in synod (K).

I have had so many topics to speak of, that I must

entreat your forgiveness for the slight, cursory manner in which most of them have been handled. And now, ere I close, I will address a few words to you, my friends, who are come as Churchwardens to this Visitation. You also need advice and exhortation; and to you also I have given such as I could in my former Charges. Into the question of parochial discipline, for the reason mentioned above, I refrain from entering, until we know the aim and scope of the Bill about to be brought before Parliament. Nor will my scanty legal knowledge allow me to pronounce any opinion concerning the recent judgement, by which the subject of Churchrates has been involved in fresh perplexities. This matter must come again ere long before a judicial tribunal, if it be not settled by some legislative measure. The only point which I can urge upon you this year, is the same which I urged upon you at our former Visitations, that you should endeavour to do your duty in that which has long been the main and most important branch of your office, the repairing and restoring of your churches. It has been a great satisfaction to me to find that the advice and exhortation given in my former Charges was not thrown away. In several churches improvements have been commenced; in some they have been carried on upon a large scale. Here I feel bound to mention what has been done in Eastbourne church. If any person doubts the desirableness of scraping off the whitewash from the pillars and arches and the other stonework in our churches, let him go to Eastbourne church. He who remembers what it was two years ago, will be surprised at the change. I myself was so, though I had been prepared for it by seeing in my own church what a look of grandeur and antiquity is thus

given at once to a building. That of Eastbourne, which had never struck me much before, has now acquired something like the majesty of a cathedral. Many other churches, indeed the great majority of them, still need similar improvements; and I earnestly hope you may all determine not to let the next year pass without doing something in this way. Only be on your guard; when you have scraped off the whitewash, do not, as I have sometimes seen done, substitute a yellow wash or brown wash in its stead. By so doing you would defeat your object. Persons whose taste has never been rightly cultivated, and who have no apprehension of the imaginative associations whereby antiquity is hallowed, but who like everything to look new and bright, as though they drew their notion of beauty from a shop, will advise you to do this: but churches, at least old ones, ought to look old, not new, the older the better. It is delightful to think that a score of generations, or more, have gathered to worship within the same walls, within which we are now gathered. In truth you might as well greenwash an old oak, or dress it out in artificial leaves. Let the bare stone, when you have cleared it, stand in its original nakedness: the only additional work requisite will be, when there are any chasms or deficiences through the action of Time, or of other more mischievous destroyers, to fill them up.

Again, in many parishes there will be ample work for you in restoring your windows, in getting rid of the paltry wooden bars, which the niggardliness of former years has put up in them, and in substituting stone mullions according to the style of the architecture. Even churches that look mean and wretched, like that in which we are now assembled, might be so improved, that you would

hardly know them again, if the windows were properly restored, if the side-galleries were taken down, if the pews were swept away, if the stone pillars were stript of their white coating. This is the third year that I have felt called upon to condemn these architectural and ecclesiastical deformities. Little has been changed in most of our churches yet. But let us not be dispirited: I will not despair of seeing the high cumbrous pews, which cram and disfigure so many of our churches, and which seem designed for luxurious ease, rather than for the exercises of prayer, for the worship of self, rather than the worship of God,—I will not despair of seeing these unchristian encumbrances removed. So long as I continue in my present office, it will be my endeavour to get rid of such things in every church, where I can exercise any influence or authority; and as the conviction is spreading through the land, that closed pews are repugnant to the spirit of Christian worship, and that they occasion numberless quarrels and heartburnings, I trust the day will come when they will only be spoken of as among the evils of a bygone, irreligious age.

But when an abuse is so inveterate, and is surrounded by so many bad and jealous feelings, like a muddy moat, keeping off the approach of reason and charity, we cannot expect that it will fall at the first assault. This however must not deter us from directing the battering ram a second and a third time against it. Greatly too are we encouraged to do so, if we can perceive the walls shaking in any place, if we can perceive them giving way, if any breach is made in them. The walls of Jericho did not fall at the first circuit, although of the priests of the Lord, or at the first blast of their trumpets. For God

desires to try our patience and perseverance, when He sets us to perform His work. The priests had to compass Jericho day after day, and to blow their trumpets continually; and it was only on the seventh day, and at the seventh circuit on that day, that the people all lifted up their voices, and shouted with a great shout; and then the wall fell down flat. We have had many proofs of late years admonishing us that this is still the course which God ordains. Indeed history is full of such proofs. The priests of the Lord are first commanded to compass the walls of evil, and to blow the trumpets of the Lord against them. They are to do so continually, perseveringly, it may be for years, without any responsive voices from the people. But at length the people lift up their voices, and shout with a great shout; and the abuse falls down flat; and every one from that time forward tramples upon it. Such, to cite a single example, was the progress of public feeling with regard to the Slavetrade. Holy men moved by God declared His judgements against it: after a while the people lifted up their voices and joined in condemning it; and then it was abolisht. So too, I trust, will it be with this great moral abuse, the system of pews, against which, with God's help, I shall go on, along with my brethren, blowing the trumpet year after year, until at length the whole mass of them, through the length and breadth of England, will, I doubt not, fall down flat. Earnestly desiring peace and unity in all things, earnestly desiring that all the party-walls of selfishness and vanity and prejudice, which separate and estrange us from each other, should be knockt down, I likewise especially desire, as pertaining to my peculiar office, to knock down those walls which separate

and estrange us from each other within the house of God.

In conclusion I beg to state to you, my reverend brethren, that I have prepared an Address to our gracious Queen from the Clergy of this Archdeaconry, on her providential preservation from this second attack on her life; and I invite you all to sign your names to it. This is another mercy and blessing vouchsafed to us: and how many mercies and blessings have we to be thankful for! mercies and blessings without number! Let us devoutly endeavour to be thankful for them, and pray to God to give us the crowning blessing of thankful hearts, hearts united to Him and to each other in the holy fellowship of peace and love, through Him who came to unite us to His Father and ours.

NOTES.

Note A: p. 12.

The procedure of those historians, who pass over the Church of the middle ages, as though it were a mere blank, under the notion that the continuity of a pure faith was only preserved by the Waldenses, and other like persecuted sects, is pretty generally recognized now to be utterly unhistorical. For a historian's business is not to pick and choose out the figures that he likes to bring forward in his picture, omitting the rest, but to represent those whom God has placed in the foremost rank of influence and efficiency, according to the prominence which they actually bore. Nevertheless Milner's work still has a considerable reputation, and is the main, if not the sole, source from which a large portion of our Church derive their notions of ecclesiastical history. How deplorably deficient Milner was in the learning requisite for his undertaking, and how he disguised this want by taking his quotations from other writers, such as Fleury and Dupin, has been shewn by Mr Maitland in his Letters to Rose, with his own peculiar sagacity for ferreting out a plagiarist, and for detecting the jay under its borrowed plumes. Nor is the limited range of Milner's imagination, his inability to understand or sympathize with any other than one special modification of the Christian character, expressing itself under a particular form of words, less injurious to his history. Owing to this cause, it tends to narrow the minds of those who are already predisposed to be narrow through their Calvinistic exclusiveness, and encourages them in believing that there never

was a true Christian upon earth, except such as have made use of their shibboleth.

If however there is any force in the argument used by Mr Newman, in the following passage of his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, it seems to imply that the course taken by Milner is the only possible one for a historian of the Church. Taking the doctrine of papal infallibility as a hypothesis, he says (p. 129) that, "even as a hypothesis which has been held by one out of various communions, it may not be lightly put aside. Some hypothesis all parties, all controversialists, all historians must adopt, if they would treat of Christianity at all. Gieseler's "Text Book" bears the profession of being a dry analysis of Christian history; yet on inspection it will be found to be written on a positive and definite theory, and to bend facts to meet it. An unbeliever, as Gibbon, assumes one hypothesis; and an Ultramontane, as Baronius, adopts another. The school of Hurd and Newton consider that Christianity slept for centuries upon centuries, except among those whom historians call heretics. Others speak as if the Oath of supremacy or the *congé d'élire* could be made the measure of St Ambrose; and they fit the Thirty-nine Articles on the fervid Tertullian. The question is, which of all these theories is the simplest, the most natural, the most persuasive. Certainly the notion of development under infallible authority is not a less grave, a less winning hypothesis, than the chance and coincidence of events, or the Oriental Philosophy, or the working of Antichrist, to account for the rise of Christianity, and the formation of its theology." These sentences are a characteristic sample of the sophistries, of which this extraordinary book is made up; and coming as they do from a writer of such ability, whom so many have revered as their master, it is worth while to spend a few minutes in examining them. Here in the first place let me observe that the presumption in favour of Mr Newman's view is gained in each branch of the argument by the same artifice, by placing it in contrast with hypotheses grossly absurd, as though these were the only alternatives; which moreover are in neither instance

altogether *ejusdem generis*, and cannot fairly be compared with it. Thus, if there were no more reasonable mode of "accounting for the rise of Christianity and the formation of its theology," than by ascribing it to "the chance and coincidence of events," or to "the Oriental Philosophy," or to "the working of Antichrist," we might be inclined to say that to ascribe it to "development under infallible authority" is less absurd and irrational than such fantastical follies. But what man of sound judgement ever dreamt of "accounting for the rise of Christianity and the formation of its theology" by any one of those three solutions? though many may have asserted, with unquestionable truth, that the development of Christianity, and especially of its theology, has been more or less modified by the coincidence of outward events, and in its earlier centuries by Oriental Philosophy, and in all ages, alas, too powerfully by the working of Antichrist, whose chief instrument has been the Papacy. When you put a heap of nonsense into your adversary's mouth, it becomes an easy matter to refute him: and this has ever been the course adopted by the advocates of Rome, who have seldom been scrupulous about any form of truth. Suppose however we say that the Seed which was sown by the Divine Sower has been growing and expanding ever since, that the Leaven has been working and spreading, through its own inherent power, adapted as that power is to the better properties of the soil in which it was sown, of the lump with which it was mixt up. Suppose that this growth and expansion, this working and spreading, have been superintended and directed by Him who orders and overrules the whole course of occurrences in the moral as well as in the physical world, and whose Spirit has especially undertaken the charge and government of the Church of His Son. Suppose that, since the Church was not taken out of the world, so as to be entirely severed from it, but was to flow along through the midst of it, and to penetrate into every part of it, until the whole was fertilized, the circumstances of the world in each age, the speculations of human reason, the various feelings and passions of mankind, were allowed in some measure to shape and turn its course,

though precluded from wholly arresting or diverting it. What is there in such suppositions,—which are much more like the views taken by judicious Protestant historians,—that should make us look with the slightest favour on the notion of "development under an infallible authority" as "graver" or "more winning?" Besides, as I said, this alternative is not *ejusdem generis*. By putting it as he has done, Mr Newman slips in a mere hypothesis, or, as we should maintain, a gross fiction, on the same footing with acknowledged indisputable facts. For in all ages of the Church there must needs have been a coincidence of events, reacting more or less upon that which acted upon them: the Oriental Philosophy, we know, did exist, and came into contact with Christianity, and acted upon it in some of the early heresies: Antichrist too has been continually counterworking and undermining Christianity, and attempting to corrupt it in numberless ways. But when the development of Christianity under an infallible authority is placed along with these facts, as co-ordinate with them, the very point in question is assumed, namely, the existence of an infallible authority, which, in the sense of its being embodied in any permanent human representative, we peremptorily deny. Nor, even if it did exist, would it preclude the operation of the other influences mentioned, that of coincident events, that of Oriental Philosophy, and that of Antichrist. For no advocate of papal infallibility has asserted that this has been the sole cause of the rise of Christianity, and of the formation of its theology: least of all can Mr Newman do so, who ascribes such moment to heresies in the development of the Church.

In like manner Mr Newman's remark on the histories of the Church, which led me to quote the passage, and from which by his peculiar logic he would draw an argument in favour of papal infallibility, is constructed as though for the purpose of throwing dust in one's eyes. He enumerates certain hypothetical views, which he represents as having been assumed by divers ecclesiastical historians: some of these views he puts in an extravagant, almost in a ludicrous light: hence he would have us infer that all ecclesiastical history is much of the same kind; and he

gravely winds up by saying, "The question is, which of all these theories is the simplest, the most natural, the most persuasive." This is one of the stalest tricks of a shallow scepticism, that, having no aptness for perceiving anything but the negative side of things, confounds every shade and degree of truth with gross glaring falsehood, sets them all on the same level, shews that some of the class are very absurd, and then would make you conclude that all the rest are of a piece. Even in Mr Newman's closing question the same sceptical spirit manifests itself. A person who believed in truth, and in man's being gifted with faculties for discerning truth, would have said, *The question is, which of all these theories is the true one.* We do not want to know which is "the simplest, the most natural, the most persuasive." Falsehood will often have a look of simplicity. It will often seem very natural, inasmuch as from the constitution of our perceptive organs that which is objectively false is often subjectively or phenomenally true. Thus, for instance, the notion of the sun's revolving round the earth is much simpler and more natural, according to the judgement of the unpurged intellect, than that of the earth's revolving round the sun; although, as simplicity is ever an essential character of the highest truths, the latter notion is seen after a time to take its place in a far simpler and more natural theory of the universe. As to *persuasiveness*, that it attaches itself to errour and falsehood much more readily than to truth, was the boast of the ancient sophists, and the main stay of their craft: and the whole history of mankind, from the first temptation down to the last secessions to Rome, has proved that the father of lies is indeed the prince of this world.

Another cause of entanglement is introduced into Mr Newman's argument by his using the words *hypothesis* and *theory* indiscriminately, as if they were synonymous. Mr Newman's want of precision in the use of philosophical terms, and how he is led into fallacies thereby, has already been noticed by others. In the present instance his confusion is indeed sanctioned by vulgar abuse; but the merest tiro in logic must know how great and

important are the differences between a *hypothesis* and a *theory*; and when the whole stress of the argument lies on these words, precision is indispensable. A hypothesis, as such, is a thing alien from history, and which a historian ought carefully to eschew, except in cases where the scantiness of his materials compells him to supply their deficiencies by conjecture. On the other hand all intelligent contemplation, whether of facts or objects, in their connexion with one another, is a theory. To the framing of a theory many hypotheses may minister: for the meaning and causes and relations and concatenations of objects or of facts do not disclose themselves immediately to our perceptions, but often need to be deciphered by a complex process of divination. When a hypothesis however has received the confirmation and verification of experience,—when it is proved to be the true key, by unlocking those secret chambers of knowledge from which we were previously excluded,—it ceases to be a mere hypothesis, and becomes a theory, or a member of a theory; just as a prophecy, when it has been fulfilled, ceases to be a mere prophecy: and we have no right to speak contemptuously of such a hypothesis, or of such a prophecy, as though it were something vague and problematical. As in organic bodies the whole is ever something very different from a mere aggregate of its parts,—for that aggregate omits the unifying principle which organizes them into a whole, changing and modifying them all,—so is it in the region of ideas. Though a number of hypotheses may have contributed to the making up of a theory, the theory is something very different from a mere chain or concourse of hypotheses. Even a house is something very different from a heap of bricks, plus a heap of tiles, plus a lump of mortar, plus so many planks of deal. The confounding of theories with hypotheses, and the speaking of them in a mass, as if they were equivalent or identical, belongs to the essence of scepticism, and is one of the marks of that pernicious spirit which the thoughtful reader has long discerned with pain in Mr Newman's writings. It belongs also to the essence of Romanism, which cannot maintain its claim to be the one arbiter of right and truth, except by

denying the existence of any other power to discern them. For Mr Newman's immediate argument too the confusion is of much importance; since one cannot speak of the *theory* of papal infallibility, except in that perverse sense in which theory is identified with hypothesis. The notion of papal infallibility is a mere hypothesis, a monstrous supposition, or, to use a word of Coleridge's, suffiction, resting on no ground but the most arbitrary fancies, and asserted in open defiance to the evidence of all history, which absolutely rejects and disproves it.

As to the historians of the Church, I cannot here enter upon the question, how far any of them have been able to keep clear of arbitrary hypotheses, and to give a faithful objective history. That such a thing is wholly impracticable, is not proved by shewing that divers writers have not effected it. At least there are various degrees of approximation; and if this idea stand, as it ought, before the historian, as the end to be aimed at, he who has the true historical mind may approach indefinitely near to it. Nor will I examine how far Mr Newman's criticism on Gieseler's work is wellfounded. His assertion, that it "bears the profession of being a dry analysis of Christian history," is at all events contrary to the fact: in sooth one cannot well conceive any writer making such a blasting profession about his work. Gieseler does indeed profess that his text is merely designed to serve as a textbook (*Lehrbuch*) for his Lectures. Thus it is in some measure analogous to Mosheim's *Institutes*, the true character of which has been well pointed out by Mr Maitland in the Letters already referred to, in reply to the complaints of persons seeking for something different from what that learned historian designed to give. But a summary is not a "dry analysis," except through a confusion of terms like that which overlooks the difference between a hypothesis and a theory: and Gieseler adds, that, "in the selection and arrangement of his historical materials, he has always kept a twofold object in view, *to give a general, but clear and full picture of each age, and to bring forward the causal connexion and reciprocal action of the various series of developments everywhere in a clear light.*" And because "no age can be rightly

understood, unless one hears it speak in its own words, and this is especially true of the history of the Church," he has tried to make each age express itself, by giving a copious body of extracts from the original authors in his notes. According to Mr Newman, he has a "positive and definite theory, and bends facts to meet it." Whether he does the latter, is a question of detail, which, as no instances are cited, cannot well be investigated. Nor is it material to my purpose. It may be that his very freedom from the assumptions and hypotheses which lie at the bottom of the ordinary English notions of ecclesiastical history, may be regarded by Mr Newman as "a positive and definite theory;" and his not receiving the ordinary English interpretation of certain historical statements may perhaps be called "bending facts to meet" his theory. But whether he does this or not, his aim at least is different. As it is with the facts of physical science, so is it with those of which history takes cognizance. A sceptic of Mr Newman's school might quote half a dozen interpretations of natural phenomena out of Aristotle, out of the Schoolmen, out of the Alchemists and Mystics, and might then argue that, since all science consists of mere fanciful hypotheses, it is indispensably necessary, in order to man's understanding the outward world, in which he is placed, with which he is bound up by so many ties, on which he depends for the support of his existence, that there should be some infallible authority appointed to expound the laws of nature. But we know that, notwithstanding this proneness to fanciful hypotheses, notwithstanding the various idols by which physical enquirers have perpetually been deluded, still man's intellectual eye may be so purged, as to gain a continually increasing insight into the true forms and laws of the outward world: a *lumen siccum* is granted to those who sincerely and earnestly desire to discern the real nature of things: and thus Physical Science has been enabled to erect a vast fabric of substantial knowledge. Indeed the very notion that it had an infallible authority in Aristotle operated for many ages to mislead and check the researches of naturalists, as ever must be the effect of such delusions, whatever the imaginary authority may be: and it

was only when Philosophy got rid of this encumbrance, and adopted a right method in the study and interpretation of nature, that Science came forth from the cloudland of hypothesis, and began to walk in the clear daylight of observant, careful, progressive theory.

It is true, the difficulties which stand in the way of an impartial objective history, such as shall do justice to all men in a spirit of love, without distinction of persons, are much greater, inasmuch as our feelings are far otherwise affected by human interests and actions and sufferings and struggles, than by anything in inanimate nature. Nor is the difficulty in any secular history, at least of bygone ages, equal to what it must needs be in that of the Church, where the matters agitated concern and stir the very centre of our being, and controversies are transmitted from century to century with very slight variations in their outward form. Yet that even here the spirit of Christian love can in great measure surmount every obstacle, so as to recognize and appreciate whatever is akin to it, notwithstanding the diversities of forms and opinions, has been proved in our days by Neander.

NOTE B: p. 17.

IN his *Apology*, addrest to William Abbot of St Theoderic, Bernard, pleading in behalf of certain diversities of dress and observance between the Cistercian and Cluniac monasteries, says (c. III.): "An forte quia juxta alium Ordinem conversari videor, propterea suspectus hinc habeor? Sed eadem ratione et vos nostro derogatis, quicumque aliter vivitis. Ergo et continentes et conjuges invicem se damnare putentur, quod suis quique legibus in ecclesia conversentur. Monachi quoque ac regulares Clerici sibi invicem derogare dicantur, quia propriis ab invicem observantiis separantur. Sed et Noe et Danielem et Job in uno se regno pati non posse suspicemur, ad quod utique non eos uno tramite justitiae cognovimus pervenisse. Mariam denique et Martham necesse sit aut utramque, aut alteram Salvatori

displicere, cui nimirum tam dissimili studio devotionis contendunt ambae placere. Et hac ratione in tota Ecclesia, (quae utique tam pluribus, tamque dissimilibus variatur ordinibus, utpote Regina quae in Psalmo legitur *circumamicta varietatibus*,) nulla pax, nulla prorsus concordia esse putabitur. Quae etenim secura quies, quis tutus in ea status invenietur, si unus quilibet homo, unum quemlibet Ordinem eligens, alios aliter viventes aut ipse aspernetur, aut se ab ipsis sperni suspicetur, praesertim cum tenere impossibile sit vel unum hominem omnes Ordines vel unum Ordinem omnes homines? Non sum tam hebes, ut non agnoscam tunicam Joseph, non illius qui liberavit Aegyptum, sed qui salvavit mundum, et hoc non a fame corporis, sed a morte simul animae et corporis. Notissima quippe est, quia polymita, id est pulcherrima varietate distincta; sed et sanguine apparet intincta, non quidem hoedi, qui peccatum significat, sed agni, qui designat innocentiam, hoc est, suo ipsius, non alieno. Ipse est profecto Agnus mansuetissimus, qui coram non quidem tondente, sed occidente se obmutuit; qui peccatum non fecit, sed abstulit peccata mundi. Miserunt autem qui dicerent ad Jacob: *Hanc invenimus; vide utrum tunica filii tui sit, an non.* Vide et Tu Domine, utrum haec sit tunica dilecti Filii Tui. Recognosce, omnipotens Pater, eam quam fecisti Christo Filio Tuo polymitam, dando quidem quosdam Apostolos, quosdam autem Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios Pastores et Doctores, et caetera quae in ejus ornatu mirifico decenter apposuisti, ad consummationem utique sanctorum occurrentium in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi.—Relinquat videlicet sponsae suae Ecclesiae pignus haereditatis, ipsam tunicam suam, tunicam scilicet polymitam, eamdemque inconsutilem, et desuper contextam per totum; sed polymitam ob multorum Ordinum qui in ea sunt multimodam distinctionem; inconsutilem vero propter indissolubilis caritatis individuam unitatem. *Quis me*, inquit, *separabit a caritate Christi?* Audi quomodo polymitam. *Divisiones*, ait, *gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus; et divisiones operationum sunt, idem vero Dominus.* Deinde diversis enumeratis charismatibus, tamquam variis tunicae coloribus, quibus constet

eam esse polymitam, ut ostendat etiam esse inconsutilem, et desuper contextam per totum, adjungit: *Haec autem operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult. Caritas* quippe *diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis.* Non ergo dividatur, sed totam et integram haereditario jure sortiatur Ecclesia, quia et de illa scriptum est: *Adstitit Regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate.* Itaque diversi diversa accipientes dona, alius quidem sic, alius vero sic, sive Cluniacenses, sive Cistercienses, sive Clerici regulares, sive etiam Laici fideles, omnis denique Ordo, omnis lingua, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, omnis conditio, in omni loco, per omne tempus, a primo homine usque ad novissimum.—Et quid mirum si in hoc exsilio, peregrinante adhuc Ecclesia, quaedam hujuscemodi sit pluralis (ut ita dixerim) unitas, unaque pluralitas; cum in illa quoque patria, quando jam ipsa regnabit, nihilominus forte talis aliqua dispar quodammodo aequalitas futura sit? Inde etenim scriptum est: *In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt.* Sicut itaque illic multae mansiones in una domo, ita hic multi Ordines sunt in Ecclesia una; et quomodo hic *divisiones gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus*, ita ibi distinctiones quidem gloriarum, sed una domus.—Non igitur una tantum semita inceditur, quia nec una est mansio quo tenditur. Viderit autem quisque quacumque incedat, ne pro diversitate semitarum ab una justitia recedat, quoniam ad quamlibet mansionem sua quisque semita pervenerit, ab una domo Patris exsors non erit."

Bernard's immediate purpose in this Treatise is indeed merely to prove the allowableness and fitness and necessity of outward ceremonial differences, and their compatibleness with inward essential unity: hence this passage would have found its appropriate place in *Note Y h* to the Sermon on *the Unity of the Church.* The scanty collection in that Note should also have been enricht with the excellent letter of Peter the Venerable to Bernard on occasion of the same dissensions between the Cluniac and Cistercian monks. Bernard's arguments and illustrations however go far beyond his direct purpose, and shew that the diversities allowable within the Church do not relate solely to externals.

NOTE C: p. 19.

THESE offenses against decorum and Christian feeling are by no means confined to either of the two parties by which our Church is at present distracted; and it would require a far more extensive acquaintance than I possess with the refuse literature of the day to pronounce on which side those offenses have been the most numerous and the most flagrant. In fact this is one of the curses of party-spirit, that people are continually provoking one another to hatred and to evil works, especially to evil words. Nor has the spirit of detraction and slander, the spirit which takes no thought about truth and justice, if it can say anything injurious to an adversary, found vent solely among the anonymous rabble who haunt the allies and purlieus of theology. Only a few even of the leading minds have kept themselves wholly untainted by it. Mr Newman indeed has always shewn a singular forbearance, notwithstanding the harassing assaults he has continually had to endure; and his conduct in this respect has been the more exemplary, since, with his powers of logic and of ridicule, he might easily have rode over troop after troop of his assailants. But others, who have not had the same temptations, have been unable to resist their lesser ones. Even in those religious novels, which are another anomalous growth of our ephemeral literature, and which, professing to be the offspring of the religious imagination, are commonly equally destitute of imagination and of religion, we often find the abuse of the opposite party brought in to season what might else have been utterly mawkish.

For instance, on opening *Bernard Leslie*, my eyes fall on the following passage. "I used once to respect the Evangelicals. Notwithstanding the manifest deficiency of their scheme, I have been accustomed to regard them with a certain respect, on account of their zeal, and the partial good which they have doubtless been the instruments of effecting. And there are some for whom I still feel a sincere regard,—men whom I see quietly doing the Lord's work according to their judgement. Zeal in a good cause is to be

admired, even though it be not according to knowledge. They have also numbered amongst them many revered and excellent men, who have devoted themselves sincerely to the cause of what they considered truth. Indeed it is for their sake mainly that the party to which they belonged has gained its influence and credit. But their popularity has spoiled them, as it has done thousands before them. They have now stood forward in a new light. They are no longer contending for the souls of men, but struggling to maintain a waning popularity. They see growing up around them, perhaps settling in their own parishes or neighbourhood, a zealous and laborious body of men who have devoted themselves to restore the ancient energy and purity of the Church. These men are gradually gaining an influence over the public mind to the prejudice and annoyance of the Evangelicals. Hence their rage against them; and because these men blame as defective the effete Evangelicalism of the day, they are accused of being enemies to the Reformation; and because they endeavour to restore the ancient usages of the Church, which have been sinfully neglected, they are accused of popery, and held up as departers from the Church's discipline by men who err themselves in a tenfold greater and more dangerous degree. The effrontery with which these men accuse their brethren is marvellous. The daily newspapers and monthly magazines have been filled with false charges and injurious reports against those who are endeavouring to raise the tone of religion. Instead of that generous rivalry which ought to influence men engaged in the same great cause of winning souls to Christ, there has sprung up amongst the Evangelicals a bitter hostility and ungenerous jealousy: they bar the kingdom of heaven against men; they neither go in themselves, nor suffer those that are entering to go in:" pp. 283-285.

Now there may certainly be a few persons here and there, to whom some portion of the condemnation here pronounced against the main body of those denominated Evangelicals, is not wholly inapplicable; but if we take it as a sentence against that body, it is iniquitous. Nor can one well display grosser ignorance of what has been going on in our Church during the last

dozen years. For so far are the "evangelical" body from having lost their popularity in consequence of the new movement in a different direction, that this movement has been the means of rendering them popular, and of diverting that odium from them with which the world is wont to regard such as bring religion prominently before it. The new party may appeal to this as a note of their superior sanctity; or it may arise from the obtrusiveness of their outward acts and observances: at all events the fact is such. As the passage just quoted bears the authority of a respectable name, and is taken from a work which has gone through several editions, and consequently must have obtained a wide circulation, it seems desirable that statements, which, though wholly contrary to the truth, may easily gain credence, should be met by a flat contradiction. At least my own official experience enables me to state that in this archdeaconry the number of what are called evangelical clergy is every year increasing: and it is with deep thankfulness to God that I record this, the introduction of such a minister being a pledge that the spiritual welfare of the parish will be rightly taken care of, and that the Gospel will be preacht in its life-giving power and fulness. Nor is it long in most cases before the proofs that the popularity of such ministers is not "waning," shew themselves in the increast size and orderliness and devoutness of the congregations.

It is not easy to estimate how wide the mischief of such misrepresentations must needs be: for minds that have been dieted with writings leavened by such a spirit must become full of narrow prejudices, so as to be almost incapable of recognizing goodness in any one who does not belong to the same party. But still more mischievous is the practice, which unhappily is not uncommon, of introducing the same sort of religious polemics into books for children. Children should be trained to look with reverence on everything connected with religion. Irreverence will come too soon, without our taking pains to sow and foster it. They who teach their children to look with suspicion and to laugh at any professions of religion, or any peculiarities prevalent among its professors, are training them to be sceptics and scoffers: nor can I

see what other results are to be anticipated from such books as *the Fairy Bower* and *the Lost Brooch*, which are all the more dangerous on account of their cleverness.

NOTE D: p. 20.

SEE Coleridge's Apologetic Preface to *Fire, Famine, and Slaughter*. In his *Remains* (Vol. IV. p. 76), when numbering up several reasons for recommending the study of our older writers he mentions, among other benefits to be derived from them, "The conquest of party and sectarian prejudices, when you have on the same table before you the works of a Hammond and a Baxter, and reflect how many and momentous their points of agreement, how few and almost childish the differences which estranged and irritated these good men. Let us but imagine what their blessed spirits now feel at the retrospect of their earthly frailties; and can we do other than strive to feel as they now feel, not as they once felt? So will it be with the disputes between good men of the present day; and if you have no other reason to doubt your opponent's goodness than the point in dispute, think of Baxter and Hammond, of Milton and Taylor, and let it be no reason at all."

NOTE E: p. 27.

ACCORDING to the returns received from 103 parishes, the aggregate population of which amounts by the last census to 116443, the number of illegitimate children baptized in those parishes during the six years, 1829—1834, was 934; and during the six years, 1835—1840, it was 1133. That this awful increase, an increase far beyond what can have taken place in the population of those parishes during that period,—Brighton not being included amongst them,—is imputable to the alterations with regard to Bastardy enacted by the New Poorlaw, I would by no means

assert, or insinuate. In Sir Edmund Head's valuable paper on the subject, appended to *the Sixth Annual Report of the Poorlaw Commissioners*, it is justly remarkt with reference to similar statements drawn from ten counties, exhibiting a like increase, that this increase cannot fairly be ascribed to the law, without regard to the various circumstances by which its operation may have been affected; and he points out one or two of these, in proof that a conclusion deduced from such tables would be fallacious. Not however that these circumstances would all tend to raise the number of such baptisms: in the text I have alluded to some causes which might have been expected to diminish it. Such too must doubtless have been the effect of the new system of Registration, which was introduced almost contemporaneously with the New Poorlaw. The difficulty which the lower orders often find in obtaining respectable sponsors, induces many to take their children to the Meeting-house; and this difficulty will of course press most on the mothers of illegitimate children; who may also be led by shame to choose a civil registration, in preference to a ceremony involving some degree of exposure, and who in most cases are not likely to attach much value to the spiritual benefits of Baptism. These considerations prove that the number of Baptisms of illegitimate children cannot in the present state of things be regarded as tantamount to that of births: how far it may fall short I have no means of determining. But at all events it is clear that the sanguine expectations which were entertained in some quarters, that the New Poorlaw would of itself materially lessen the amount of Bastardy, have not been fulfilled; and that the encouragement which the Commissioners in their early Reports drew from a few favorable cases, was at all events premature. It was indeed perfectly right, nay, the bounden duty of the Legislature, to abolish that pernicious system, through which, under the old law, illegitimate children, in proportion to their number, became sources of profit to their mother. But it is a delusion, though one we are very apt to fall into in politics and in morals, to suppose that, when an evil habit has been produced, the removal of the producing cause will check the habit. For the cause, when it

is outward, does not really generate the evil, but merely elicits and fosters it; and when the evil has once sprung up, it has a strong tenacity, and propagates itself. The only efficient mode of counteracting moral evil is by exciting a countervailing moral power; and to do this is the special office and privilege of the Church. "Commonwealths and good governments (Bacon teaches us in his Essay *Of Custom and Education*) do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds." The State must take care that its laws and institutions shall not thwart the Church in her work, must provide that she be not hindered in it, and that she have facilities for its execution; but her real strength, the means and instruments of her warfare, come from a higher source: and every fresh testimony of the gigantic might of evil in the world should lead us to seek that strength more earnestly, and to exercise it more diligently and perseveringly.

Here let me add a remark intimately connected with what has just been said. Whatever may be the effect of those clauses in the New Poorlaw, which bear directly upon Bastardy,—whether in their original form, or as they have since been modified,—there is one regulation, no way necessary to its enforcement, but deemed expedient by the persons who are entrusted with its administration, whereby it certainly does operate most perniciously on the morals of such women as are under the necessity of seeking parochial relief. The ordinary practice in workhouses,—I know not whether there are any in which a better system has been adopted,—is to put the adult female paupers into one class, so that they all live in the same room, and spend their whole time together. Now everybody who is acquainted with our workhouses, is aware that a great proportion of the female inmates ever consists of those who resort to them to bring forth the offspring of their sin. Thus a large part of the most abandoned women within the limits of each Union are herded together; and with these the rest of the female paupers have to associate all the day long. Yet, even as a matter of right, surely it is a most unjustifiable insult and wrong to the virtuous maidens and mothers, who at times are compelled by

distress to take up their abode in a workhouse, that they should thus be doomed to a constant intercourse with the worst women for ten miles round. It is a crime to punish them for their poverty by condemning them to be thus shockt and disgusted. And how terrible must be the demoralizing effect produced on the pure and modest maiden and matron by the conversation, to which in such company they must perpetually be exposed! Nay, even among the wretched women who seek shelter in the workhouse, there must needs be very different degrees of depravity, from the girl whose weakness has just been seduced out of the path of a life hitherto blameless, down to those who have been hardened by continued prostitution. But the natural result of such intercourse is for the lowest to drag down the rest to their own miserable level. Hence it is a national duty to demand that a strict system of classification shall be laid down for the female paupers in our workhouses. Let the modest women live together; but let them be preserved from the degradation and pollution of a compulsory association with the profligate: and with regard to the latter too care should be taken that the lingering remains of better feelings should not be rudely trampled on and extinguisht, that the workhouse should not be a place for rendering all the women who enter it utterly shameless. The regulations necessary for this purpose should be imposed by the Commissioners; for it will require some trouble and expense to carry them out, from which some Boards of Guardians might perhaps shrink: but the expense will be as a grain of dust, in comparison with the tremendous evil which it is to counteract; and, like every outlay for a moral purpose, it will bring in an abundant return, even in an economical point of view. Of all sources of national wealth, the best and surest is the moral character of the people.

Note F: p. 32.

Having spoken somewhat strongly on this point, I feel bound to add in this Note, that, when our present Bishop, in the autumn of 1843, issued his Pastoral Letter, directing that a general parochial collection should be made in aid of our Diocesan Association, with especial reference to the works it has undertaken for the improvement of Education, there were only five parishes in this Archdeaconry that did not respond to his call. In some at least of these five the omission must have been owing to accident; and all, I hope, will be anxious to repair the misfortune of their previous deficiency by a twofold liberality when another occasion is offered to them. That this must needs occur before long, is evident from the present state of our finances. The inevitable expenses of maintaining our two Training Schools are still considerably beyond our regular income: yet I should shrink with grief and shame from the thought that we can ever be reduced to the necessity of giving up Institutions, which were establisht in the trust that the Christian spirit of the Diocese would readily supply the funds requisite for their support, and which of all institutions are the most needed, nay, are absolutely indispensable, if the Church is to fulfill her duty of training up the hearts and minds of her children for an intelligent reception of the truths committed to her keeping. In our days the question is no longer, whether the lower orders shall have a Christian education, or shall be left in ignorance, to walk in the traditional faith of their fathers. The alternative is, whether they shall have Christian instruction, or only unchristian; whether they shall be abandoned, without any means of defending themselves, to the restless propagaters of infidelity, or shall be prepared to encounter them by being enabled to give a reason for their faith. But if they are to be so prepared, we need a large body of intelligent Christian teachers, a body scarcely less numerous than that of our parochial Clergy; and it is to supply this pressing and momentous

want that our Training Schools have been establisht. All the reports of their progress, and of the conduct of the teachers who have been trained in them, encourage us to hope that, under God's blessing, they will prove efficient instruments for the preservation of His people in the faith and knowledge of His Son. Therefore μὴ γένοιτο that we should ever be compelled to relinquish them. This thought is not to be entertained for a moment, but only how we may render them fitter for the execution of their great and godly purpose. Nor is it to be regretted that we should have to call upon our parishioners for their support: rather is it desirable that the great body of the inhabitants of every parish in the Diocese should be invited every year to bear part in the good works which the Church is carrying on. One of the best ways of elevating their character will be by bringing them to recognise their Christian privilege of caring for the moral and spiritual wants of all to whom they are united by the bonds of Christian brotherhood.

Note G: p. 35.

The feelings exprest in the text have doubtless been entertained by many who have not given voice to them. Indeed I cannot well conceive that any one of a Christian frame of mind can have allowed his thoughts to dwell for a moment on the abuse here reprehended, without being struck by its glaring repugnance to the principles of the Gospel. It has given me much satisfaction to find that a change somewhat like the one here recommended has been adopted in the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for 1844 and 1845; at the end of which, instead of the old lists of all the subscribers, there is merely a table of the sums received from the various District and Parochial Associations. Even in a financial view the change would be beneficial, as greatly diminishing the labour of making out the lists, and the expense of printing; only it is still deemed requisite to give full lists of the subscribers in the special Diocesan

Reports. We may hope however that this too will ere long be found to be superfluous.

A comparison of the Reports for 1841 and 1845 shews that the efforts which have been made to awaken a livelier interest in the missionary work of the Church, have not been wholly unavailing: for the contributions from this Diocese, which in 1841 were only £535, amounted in 1845 to £1360. I mention this as an encouragement to those who have taken part in these efforts, that they may persevere, and, having done thus much, may strive to do more; and also as an inducement to those who have hitherto been withheld by the fear that their parishioners could not be led to care for objects so remote from the concerns of their daily life. Let us all resolve that we will at least do something; and if we act heartily upon this resolution, we shall do more than we dream of. The number of parishes in this Diocese being about three hundred, surely it is not unreasonable to expect that they should raise a sum amounting on an average to ten pounds a parish, for the great work of propagating the Gospel in the vast colonies and dependencies of the English Empire. The sum we raise at present does not amount to five pounds a parish: but let us endeavour to double it; and doubtless in time we shall do so. And when we have doubled it, why should we not hope to double it again? Our worldly riches have multiplied prodigiously during the last fifty years: hitherto there has not been a proportionate increase in the portion of them given to God: but why should there not be?

Note H : p. 38.

It would have been out of place in the Charge itself, to have entered into a discussion of the painful controversy which has arisen out of the institution of the Jerusalem Bishopric. But as the controversy has not subsided even now, though the Bishopric has existed for five years,—as the attacks upon it have been carried on with unscrupulous virulence, and often with little

regard for truth,—as men of high character, not merely for learning, but for holiness, have not shrunk from making use of gross misrepresentations and personalities for the sake of kindling an odium against it,—as the plainest, most palpable demonstration of the incorrectness of these misrepresentations has not induced the authors to retract them, while their reputation has gained credence for their mis-statements with those who, knowing little, are ready to think evil, of whatever lies without the pale of our own Church, and has thus excited a prejudice against the Bishopric, which its friends, not suspecting the artifices used by its opponents, are not well able to refute,—there is much need that somebody should set forth a brief, simple view of the original scheme, whereby it will be cleared at once from a number of these misrepresentations and misapprehensions. Moreover, as by two several invitations addrest to the Clergy of this Archdeaconry I called upon them to express their approbation of the measure, and as these invitations were hailed with cordial sympathy by a large part of them, I have incurred a sort of obligation to vindicate it; since, in giving their public sanction to it, many may have been influenced more or less by a reliance on the judgement of their Archdeacon; so that, if it is really objectionable, either on religious grounds, or as a violation of sound ecclesiastical principles, he has made himself responsible for their errour, as well as for his own.

Now in order to arrive at a right understanding on this matter, it is requisite that we should recur to the original idea and purpose of the Jerusalem Bishopric; with regard to which we are happily supplied with an abundance of documentary evidence. The scheme originated, as is well known, in the mind of the great and good King, whom God, for the blessing of his own country and of Christendom, has placed upon the throne of Prussia. Amid the momentous cares which prest upon him from all sides at his accession, within six weeks of it, when he signed the Treaty of the 15th of July 1840 for the preservation of the Porte, one main inducement with him to become a party to that Treaty, we are informed in the Official Statement of the Proceedings with regard to the Bishopric, was the hope

of effecting something for the protection of Christians in the Turkish Empire. "His first thought was, that such a singular opportunity ought to be used for the good of the Holy Land, and of all Christendom, in the true spirit of the Evangelical Confession, and for the special advantage of its members. It seemed to him possible and eminently desirable that the powers of Christendom should come to an understanding with each other, and with the Porte which called for their protection, on these points, particularly with regard to the Holy Land; and that this would have been a noble, a holy alliance, injurious to none, glorious to the present time, beneficial to the future" (pp. 27, 30). Negotiations were commenced for this end, but without the desired result: some of the contracting parties seem to have been unwilling to enter into any such engagement. Still the King would not give up the hope of carrying his plan into effect, at least for his own Protestant Confession; and of this he took the widest view, looking at it not merely in his own kingdom of Prussia, but as extending through all Germany, nay, as embracing the whole Protestant body. "Where now (it is askt in the Official Statement) was the point to start from? It was to be one which should preclude all suspicion of selfish views, which should of itself condemn all exclusiveness, and in which the primary principles of the independence of each member and the union of all should find the clearest possible enunciation." The King desired "to obtain a centre for all the national Churches of the Evangelical Confession, that might be willing to join in the scheme either now or hereafter;—an institution which should not be subject to any exclusive rights, still less dependent on the commands of any civil power, or destined solely for one Confession, for one language, for one form of worship. To connect this with something already existing seemed to him the only right course, the only one consistent with the will of God. Now certain English Christians, members of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews, had procured a piece of ground a few years before on Mount Zion to build a church and schools. The building was

already begun; and divine service was performed in English, in Hebrew, and also in German, for Christians residing there, and for Jewish converts." Here was the starting-point. "The object however was to transform the small foundation of a private society into an independent Church, and to place this under the protection of the two chief Protestant powers" (p. 31). In the Instructions given to his Minister, a paper evidently drawn up by the King himself, and such as has rarely proceeded from any soverein, after speaking of the necessity that the Protestant Church should shew itself at Jerusalem, like the other branches of the Church, as one distinct body, in order to obtain a recognition of the rights of its members, he continues: "But his Majesty's conviction that the Evangelical Church ought to come forward on this occasion, as united in a common faith, rests mainly on higher grounds. The present aspect of Turkish affairs, which manifestly has not been brought about without divine guidance, and especially the political relation of England and Prussia with Turkey, have for the first time afforded a possibility for Evangelical Christendom to demand a position in the birthplace of Christianity, by the side of the ancient Churches of the East, and over against that of Rome, as a coordinate member of the Universal Church of Christ; so that the Gospel may be preacht freely, and that the members of the Evangelical Confession may enjoy liberty and security of worship. This moment is an important one in the history of the world: according as we attend to it and use it, or overlook and neglect it, will the Evangelical Church be judged by History and by God. His Majesty cannot doubt that Evangelical Christendom owes it to herself and to her Lord, at such a moment, in such a place, not to exhibit the scandal of her disunion and division, but rather the good example of unity in faith, and union in action. She desires to come forward there, along with the other ecclesiastical bodies, and in presence of the Jews and Mahometans, not for the sake of persecuting, of dispossessing, of excluding, not to quarrel, to dissolve: she desires to proclaim her mission to the world, not as a work of hatred and jealousy, but as

a message of love, of peace, and of concord. How then can it be the will of the Lord, that, when appearing for the first time in the Holy Land, for such a purpose, with such words in her mouth, she should unfurl the standard of her internal divisions and dissensions? Are not her missions generally, at once the pulsation of her common life, and the evidence of the difficulty of establishing real Churches, of forming and training Christian nations, while she is thus insulated and separated, and in such want of ecclesiastical superintendence? And where can this inward evil be more grievous, than in that land, amid that concourse of all opposite forms of Christianity, beside the three Patriarchates, and the Colony of Rabbies, in the presence of the Mosque of Omar, and of the foundations of the Temple of Jerusalem? Does it not seem then to lie in the counsels of God, that in the missions of the Evangelical Church the feeling of the union and connexion of all her members over the whole globe should be kindled? Does it not seem especially at the present moment to be the loving purpose of the Lord of the Church, that in the ancient Land of Promise, on the place of His earthly ministry, not only should Israel be brought to a knowledge of His salvation, but also that the several Evangelical Churches, grounded on the everlasting foundation of the Gospel, and on the rock of faith in the Son of the Living God, should forget their divisions, be reminded of their unity, and stretch out the hand of peace and union to each other over the cradle and grave of the Redeemer? His Majesty on his part will not hesitate on this occasion to hold out his hand trustfully to the Episcopal Church of England, which combines evangelical principles with a historical constitution aiming at universality, and with ecclesiastical independence. His Majesty, in the spirit of apostolical Catholicity, and in the expectation of a like spirit on the part of the English Church, feels no scruple to declare his readiness, in all missionary countries where this Church has an Episcopate, to allow the clergy and missionaries of his national Church to attach themselves thereto, and for this end to obtain episcopal ordination, which the English Church requires for

admission to the ministry. He will take care that this ordination shall always be recognised in his dominions. More especially his Majesty is resolved to do everything in the Holy Land, that can be expected from a Christian King, to facilitate united action in behalf of the Gospel. The English Church is in possession of an ecclesiastical establishment on Mount Zion; and his Majesty holds it to be the duty of all Evangelical Princes and communities to unite themselves to this establishment, as the starting and central point of their combined action. For his Majesty looks upon this as a ground of great hope for the future destinies of Evangelical Christendom. In the first place a visible centre and a living lever will manifestly be obtained thereby for all its missions in the whole compass of the Turkish Empire, and in the original seats of Christianity; and when this lever is once set in motion, its power will soon become felt from Abyssinia even to Armenia. Moreover another object, which in itself is highly desirable and important, will be attained. A neutral Christian region will thus be gained in the simplest manner, removed beyond the confines of narrowing nationalities, where, through the blessing of God, by the common action of faithful love, a progressive union of Evangelical Christians may be prepared more readily than under any other circumstances. Naturally however it cannot be his Majesty's purpose, in such a union, to sacrifice or endanger the independence of the National Church of his own country. According to his Majesty's view, a true living Evangelical exhibition of Catholicity is only conceivable, if the unity is to be grounded on the divinely ordained multiplicity of tongues and nations, with a recognition of the whole individuality and historical development of each nation and country. Every national Church has without doubt, like the people that belongs to it, her own peculiar calling in the great scheme and unfolding of the Kingdom of God. Nay, every narrower, smaller Christian community in a Christian country has no less unquestionably a calling and a duty to seek out a peculiar sphere within the universal Church for those works of love, for which it has received a particular destination and

a particular blessing. Especially his Majesty, as a German Prince, and King of his own country, has the liveliest conviction that the Evangelical Christianity of the German people is called to occupy an independent place in every exhibition of such an Evangelical Apostolical Catholicity, so long as the word of God is preacht in the German language, and His praise is sung in the German tongue. His Majesty lives in the hope that, even in this present century, the position of the Evangelical Church of Germany, as soon as she becomes duly aware of this her calling, will be on a level with the whole spiritual and political position of the people from whom the blessed work of the Reformation issued three hundred years ago. In accordance with these views and convictions, the proposed confidential negotiations with the English Church must be guided by two main principles. The one is the utmost possible unity of action between the two Churches in the Turkish Empire, and especially in the Holy Land: the other must be respect for the independence of the German Evangelical Church, and for the nationality of the German people. The first condition and beginning of this common action, his Majesty conceives, should be, that the English Church should erect a Bishopric of her own at Jerusalem. The foundation for this has already been laid, as it were, by a special interposition. The first results of the Mission to Jerusalem justify the fairest hopes; but its check and present troubled condition seem urgently to call for the establishment of such a Bishopric. Episcopal superintendence and decision on the spot will alone be availing: a government exercised from Malta would not seem to his Majesty either a satisfactory or a truly Apostolic institution. The Bishopric to be erected at Jerusalem would therefore connect itself with the institutions and buildings already begun on Mount Zion, and would comprehend all Evangelical Christians in the Holy Land, who may be willing to take part in it. The generous sentiments which have recently been exprest at a meeting of the friends of the English Church under the presidency of the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, seem to his Majesty a sure pledge that

so seasonable and purely Christian a purpose as the establishment of permanent Churches in Missionary countries, will in this instance also be carried out worthily."

Such was the proposition which came from the King of Prussia in the summer of 1841, and was laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. One prompted by a purer spirit of Christian love never proceeded from any soverein. Certain of the theological or ecclesiastical views implied in it may indeed be startling to some, whose own views have been drawn from a different aspect of the Church, and who conceive that what is positive must always be fenced in by a thick palisade of negations: such persons are apt to fume, if any one dares to suppose that different ecclesiastical bodies can exist side by side without falling to loggerheads. On the other hand in our own Statement, published by authority, expressions occur, which might indicate that hostility to the Church of Rome was one of the motives of the institution; and this seems to have alarmed and irritated our hankerers after Popery. But in the King of Prussia's Instructions there is not a word of the sort; and in the further exposition of his views by his Minister it is said (p. 60), that, "as the Evangelical community at Jerusalem is to exercise brotherly love and peace toward the Romish Church, which, like ours, is a stranger there, and to confine herself to the repudiation of usurpations, should any arise, it cannot be her calling to take a polemical position over against the other Churches, which do not assert any claims to dominion over forein bodies." Now what feelings must the receit of such a proposition have excited in the two Bishops? Can any Christian heart do otherwise than rejoice and give thanks to God, for having raised up such a soverein in this perilous crisis of His Church, and admire and love the King, who thus made the glory of God, and the increase of the Church, the first object of his reign? M. Eichhorn indeed, in his official announcement of the measure, spoke also of commercial and scientific advantages to be expected from it. Perhaps he may have thought that a political measure dictated solely by religious motives was

incongruous with the spirit of the age, and have deemed it expedient to propitiate that spirit by urging other motives more congenial to it: perhaps he himself could not enter fully into the King's pure Christian zeal: at all events in the King's Instructions there is no such allusion, nor room for any; nor, if such ends had been contemplated, could there well have been a more round-about mode of compassing them. How then, I ask, were the two Bishops to treat this proposition? Ought they to have rejected it? No one, I believe, has dared to say that. Remorse and shame would have been their portion, had they done so. Yet, be it remembered, this was the state of the case. The impugners of the measure have talkt in solemn phrases about the duty of waiting for God's own time, of not intruding impatiently to hasten the designs of Providence. But what is meant by waiting for God's own time? Does it mean that we are to shut our eyes, and open our mouths, and sit quiet till the cherry drops into them? The King of Prussia saw the purpose of God in the opportunity which was granted to him of acting for the glory of God, and for the good of the Church, and of his own people. Surely this is waiting God's time: we are to wait watching, in order to seize it by the forelock as soon as it comes, not to let it pass by. And did not the measure come to the Bishops almost as a sign from God, commanding them to act for His glory, and for the good of the English, and of the German, yea, of the whole Church? They had not sought it; but it came to them. What sign can there be that God wills we should act, stronger and clearer than when the opportunity and means are placed before us, without any concert, without the slightest anticipation on our part, by a person having full authority to act, manifestly influenced by the desire of God's glory, and calling upon us to join with him in working for it. Moreover the proposition was brought to them just at the time when their hearts were already full of similar schemes, as it were in fulfilment of the promise that to him who has shall be given: for it was soon after the Meeting at which resolutions were past to raise funds for sending Bishops to all our Colonies:

and this determination on our part, which is alluded to in the King's Instructions, may perhaps have helpt in giving shape to his purpose of taking advantage of the state of affairs in the East for the good of the Protestant Churches. The Archbishop too, in the Charge which he had delivered in the previous summer, had exprest his pious longings for the very objects, the opportunity of effecting which was now placed before him. "I would (he there says, p. 32) it were possible to extend this great principle of unity to all the Churches of Christendom. The dissensions which separated the Churches of the East and the West, and the corruptions and intolerance which drove the Protestants from the communion of Rome, have been most injurious to the Catholic Church. A reconciliation would indeed be desirable. But reunion with Rome has been rendered impossible by the sinister policy of the Council of Trent, which, dreading the result of discussion on many disputed points, made no scruple of multiplying articles of faith, which, however erroneous, can never be disclaimed by that Church till she abandons her pretensions to infallibility. Yet I am not without hope that more cordial union may in time be effected among all Protestant Churches; nor do I think it improbable, that the gradual admission of light in the East may improve the condition of those ancient Churches which have groaned so long under the oppression of infidels, may induce them to try their creeds by the standard of Scripture, and dispose them to friendly communications with our own Church." Had the Archbishop been able to look into the King of Prussia's heart, and to discern the purposes which were teeming there, he could scarcely have exprest a more distinct anticipation of the measure in which he was to be invited to cooperate a year after, and which he therefore could hardly fail to regard as a special act of Providence, vouchsafed almost in immediate answer to his prayer. At all events this coincidence between two persons, so differently situated, and yet, from their position, the very two persons on whose concurrent goodwill the accomplishment of the scheme must mainly depend,—their contemporaneous aspirations after

union among the Protestant Churches, and with the Churches of the East, as something not merely desirable, but which the posture of the world seemed to bring within the sphere of practicability,— prove that the measure, which was proposed with such zeal by the one, and accepted with such cordial thankfulness by the other, was in the highest sense seasonable, and in accordance with the signs and with the wants of the times.

It is true, though the King's proposition was substantially so pure and godly, so fitted to awaken joy and thankfulness in every Christian heart, there might still be something in the form of the measure, that should have made the Bishops pause before they adopted it; pause, I say, before they adopted it; not, reject it. For we cannot well be in a position where it becomes our duty to reject a great good; though the general structure of existing forms and circumstances may easily be so far repugnant to that which we are called to incorporate therewith, as to impose the duty of modifying its form to remove or lessen that repugnancy, and to bring it into some sort of harmony with the previous order of things: indeed it is through such a repugnancy that a novelty becomes what is called an innovation. To reject good altogether, because it does not fit at once into the trammels of custom and convention, is the course of a crampt pettifogging formalism, through the noxious influence of which establisht forms so often wane away and stiffen into lifeless skeletons. No great good can come forth, without being at variance with the trammels of custom, without, so to say, breaking the shell. But who would crush the bird, because it breaks its shell? Forms must yield, must expand, must reshape themselves, when new modes of good are rising into outward manifestation. They ought to be clothes, not chains, to be elastic, in recognition that the clothes are made for the man, not the man for the clothes.

The chief objections which have been brought forward against the Jerusalem Bishopric, may be ranged under two heads. One class of them turns upon its alledged incompatibleness with the Canons of our Church; and this has been urged the most prominently by Mr Hope, in a pamphlet written with great ability,

powerful both from his logical dexterity and his legal knowledge, and exemplarily temperate in style. He shews, with a good deal of ingenuity, that our Bishop at Jerusalem cannot perform any act in the way of fulfilling the King of Prussia's purpose,—the special purpose for which his office was instituted,—without violating some one or other of our Canons. He pinions the poor Bishop down with Canons, and manacles him, and fetters him, and then defies him to move, exclaiming that, if he does move, he will break some Canon, and thereby cut himself off from the Church of England. Yet all this rather reminds us of the puzzle, by which a complicated net of packthread is woven round a child's finger, so that it seems bound inextricably, until the child is bid to pull back its finger, which slips through, and the whole net unravels at once. The main difference is, that Mr Hope shews no sign of any like purpose to let his captive escape. Able however as his pamphlet is, it is altogether the work of an advocate; and we know how easy it is for a clever advocate to make out a very plausible, and what to us laymen may seem an incontrovertible case. In fact one may feel confident that this whole argument about the Canons can never have really convinced any one, not even Mr Hope himself. There must needs have been a foregone conclusion, on the strength of which he set himself to draw up as strong a plea as he could; and most of those who adopt his arguments, do so under the influence of a like foregone conclusion. For why? The Canons, on which so much stress is laid, were manifestly never intended for the state of things now in question: they were not framed in the contemplation of any such event as the invitation to establish the Jerusalem Bishopric: consequently, in applying them to it, we must be guided by induction and analogy. They refer entirely to the internal regulation and discipline of our own Church, not to her relations with other Churches. That they were not designed to bear on the latter, is plain, not merely from the absence of all reference thereto in the Canons themselves, but also from the practice of our Church toward forein Protestants during the whole century in the middle of which they were

enacted. It would be interesting and useful, if some person verst in the ecclesiastical literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would collect the evidence of the relations which then subsisted between our Church and the forein Protestants, as evinced both by the language of our most authoritative writers, and by any ecclesiastical acts of which a record is preserved. I much doubt whether it would be possible to shew that there was at any time a distinct, deliberate purpose of excluding them from our communion; and there would be an abundance of proofs that practically they were not excluded. Even the Romanists, though we regarded them, and not without ample cause, as the enemies of our Church, were not excommunicated by us, but by their own act and deed; and surely we did not use a harsher measure toward those whom we lookt upon as our friends, united to us in the same great cause of upholding the truth of the Gospel and the pure worship of God. The fact, to which Mr Hope alludes, that the Lutherans had a separate place of worship even in the reign of Elizabeth, did not arise from their being precluded from joining in our worship: it was a privilege granted to them, in that they were allowed to celebrate divine worship in their own language, and in the form to which they had been accustomed; just as our refugees were at Frankfort in the reign of Mary. Nor is there more force in the argument which Mr Hope (p.15) founds on the clause in the Act of the 12th and 13th of William the 3d *for the Limitation of the Crown*, that "whosoever shall come to the possession of this crown shall *join in communion* with the Church of England." On the strength of these words Mr Hope maintains, that "Protestantism, which qualifies for the succession to the English Crown (such as Lutheranism), does not imply communion with the English Church; for this is to be obtained by a separate act; and this act, let me add, must be according to the laws of the Church of England." Now surely these conclusions shoot far beyond the mark. The first legitimate inference from this provision concerning the succession is, that the Church of England was regarded by the Legislature and by the Nation as a Protestant

Church, and the Reformed Churches on the Continent as sister Churches, not indeed as identically the same with our National Church,—this is inconsistent with the very idea of a National Church,—but as sister branches of the Universal Church. Next, as the specific proviso was manifestly introduced in anticipation of the Hanoverian succession, it does indeed imply that the Electors of Hanover were not in actual communion with the Church of England; which, having spent all their lives in Germany, they could not be. But it no way implies that they were not regarded as admissible to the communion of our Church; rather does it imply the very contrary: for the act whereby they were to *join in that communion* was assuredly nothing more than coming to the Lord's Table to receive it. Mr Hope indeed, after saying that they were to "obtain this communion by a separate act,—and that this act was to be according to the laws of the Church of England," explains his meaning by applying the injunctions of the Rubrics and Canons to all foreiners, insisting that, they must "be instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Church Catechism, and are then to be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed; after which, and upon conformity to the Liturgy, they may—be admitted to the Holy Communion." Yet it is hard to believe that so intelligent a person could gravely intend to assert, it was the intention of our Legislature to require that the Elector of Hanover, on coming over to England, should say the Catechism to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and should then seek confirmation at his hands, thereby repudiating and stigmatizing all the ordinances of his own Church as invalid, his baptism perhaps excepted, the validity of which Mr Hope seems to recognise, in p. 20. Still less can we believe him to suppose that our first two Georges did actually go through this process; though, unless this was his meaning, his fact contradicts his argument. At all events, however strong his own persuasion may be that such was the case, he will scarcely induce any sober-minded person to adopt that persuasion, unless he can cite some historical evidence of this most apocryphal fact. Till such

evidence is laid before us, the reasonable part of the world will rather assume that, as I said above, the act whereby the Electors of Hanover joined in the communion of our Church, was by presenting themselves at the Lord's Table. Nay, although, when the King of Prussia came over to England as Sponsor to the Prince of Wales, a person was found simple-hearted enough to exhort him to qualify himself for that office by submitting to be confirmed anew by one of our Bishops, without bethinking himself of the ferment and indignation which such an act must have caused in every Protestant congregation in his dominions, I can hardly believe that, even from among the Nonjurors, any person can have come with such a proposition to George the First. But further, can any single instance be adduced, in which an adult member of the Lutheran Church has been required to be confirmed anew, before he could be admitted to the Lord's Table? We may presume that there can hardly be such an instance; for, had one been discoverable, Mr Hope would have cited it, and his party would have dinned it in our ears. On the other hand numberless instances must have occurred, during the three centuries since the Reformation, of forein Protestants admitted to communion in our Church without any such requirement; and this has been done repeatedly by the first dignitaries of our Church. Besides a great number of forein Protestants have been ordained to our Ministry, especially as missionaries; and even on these solemn occasions they have not had to go through those preparatory steps, which Mr Hope pronounces to be indispensable before they can be admitted to our communion? Mr Hope indeed would fain evade this difficulty by asserting, in p. 14, that this has never been done, "except through the irregular conduct of individuals:" but when that which he calls "the irregular conduct of individuals," has been the uniform practice in our Church for three centuries, sanctioned over and over again by Primate after Primate, we shall hardly feel warranted in condemning that practice, because it is at variance with a most questionable interpretation of Rubrics and Canons drawn up

two or three centuries ago, an interpretation directly repugnant to the principles of our 34th Article, which recognises the authority of "every particular or national Church to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites." For surely this recognition admits that, notwithstanding the diversity of ceremonies and rites, Churches may be in communion with each other; whereas Mr Hope's argument is, that no Church can be in communion with ours, unless it adopts the same rites and ceremonies. Every lawyer knows what great weight is attacht to the decisions of our Judges in the interpretation of our Common and Statute Law: and somewhat similar to this must be the authority of the uniform unreproved practice of our Bishops in the interpretation of our Ecclesiastical Law; the need of which authority for such a purpose must be the greater, because our Canons were enacted so long since, under a very different state of things, as Mr Hope himself urges with much force in p. 60; and there has been no legitimate authority to modify and adapt them to the different wants of our age.

Hence we may judge what importance is due to Mr Hope's elaborate attempt to make out, that, if our Bishop at Jerusalem does not strictly enforce these Canons in his dealings with the foreiners who may wish to place themselves under his spiritual jurisdiction,—in other words, if he does not wholly nullify the very design for which the Bishopric was primarily establisht,—he will be guilty of perjury. Were it not deemed the business of an advocate to bring forward every argument by which he can gain the slightest shadow of support for his cause, Mr Hope would hardly have thought of devising a grave charge of perjury against a person in the very peculiar position of our Bishop at Jerusalem, if he should not conform to our Canons,—*a yoke which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear*,—Canons which are continually violated in divers ways by every minister of our Church from the Primate down to the Deacons ordained in the last Ember-week, and which have been repeatedly violated, one need not hesitate to say, by every minister of our Church during the last hundred years. In a Court of Conscience assuredly the

Bishop might reply to any clergyman who dared to insinuate such a charge, *He that is without sin amongst you, let him cast the first stone at me:* and when considering the matter before the more solemn tribunal within his own breast, he will probably come to the conclusion, that, if he observes our Canons as they have been observed by the body of our Bishops for the last two centuries, having respect at the same time to his peculiar circumstances, and the distinctive purpose of his mission, he will do what is right before God. In conformity to the common practice of the most conscientious persons with regard to disciplinary rules and statutes, transmitted, without adaptation to existing circumstances, from a bygone age, he will interpret his obligation by the help of usage, and, should any novel case arise, by the judgement of those who, even if they have not the power of dispensing with the rules, or remodeling them, must be taken, in the present state of things, as their authoritative expounders.

In fact Mr Hope himself is well aware of this. What he says about perjury is manifestly little else than a *brutum fulmen.* He feels that the stress of the question lies elsewhere. Therefore he taxes all his ingenuity to prove that our Bishopric at Jerusalem is in all material respects exactly similar to any other See of our Church, and that it does not involve any peculiar relations with forein Protestants. Now this was no easy matter, seeing that the new Bishopric was no spontaneous creation of the English Church, but was originally suggested and prompted by the King of Prussia, and was avowedly erected by our Church in some sort of cooperation with him; seeing too that the essential feature in his plan was the establishment of a peculiar relation between our Church and his in the East. But Mr Hope, rightly laying down that Prussian Statepapers can have no authority with our Church, proceeds somewhat hastily to push aside the Prussian official documents altogether, which, at the time when he wrote, alone gave anything like a full account of the objects of the new measure; and, in determining the character of that measure, he confines himself wholly to the very scanty information which had then been supplied by our Government civil and spiritual. Of

this far the most important part at that time was the Act of Parliament, which gave authority for the consecration of the New Bishop, and which, in speaking of his jurisdiction, enacts, that he may exercise "spiritual jurisdiction over the ministers of British congregations,—*and over such other Protestant congregations* as may be desirous of placing themselves under his authority." To evade the force of these words, Mr Hope asks (p. 22), "whether every English Bishop has not the same power over every Protestant congregation which is willing to place itself under him," by adopting our Liturgy, and being incorporated into our Church. Hence he contends that this is the only way in which forein Protestants can place themselves under the spiritual jurisdiction of our Bishop at Jerusalem: they must be received into our Church one by one, and they must adopt our Liturgy. This interpretation he tries to confirm by the Report of what the Archbishop of Canterbury said, on moving the third reading of the Bill,—a Report which occupies just ten lines of his pamphlet,—and by divers processes of logical induction. Now, had it so happened that Mr Hope had come forward to maintain the opposite side, it would have been pleasant to see how ingeniously he would have exposed the fallacies in his own argument. He would of course have remarkt that the speeches on Bills, which do not excite any lively interest in Parliament, are hardly ever reported so as to convey any notion of their contents, and that, unless the Archbishop had invented some new machine for the condensation of thought, he could never have explained the purpose and bearings of such a complicated measure as the Jerusalem Bishopric in the space of ten lines, which in fact state little else than that the Bill had received the sanction of the civil Government. Surely too Mr Hope would have urged that, if there are two ways of interpreting the same words, — one, and that the most palpable, which gives them a definite meaning, and another according to which they are mere surplusage,—the former is to be preferred, even in the construction of an Act of Parliament, at least of those parts of it which set forth the specific purposes of the Act. Again, if Mr Hope's vigilance had not been exhausted in his exertions to

make out a plausible case from such scanty and reluctant materials, he could not have failed to perceive that, while he maintains (in p. 20) that the German Protestants who "desire to be admitted to communion, must come, not as a body, but as individuals, not asserting an independent collective existence, but desiring to be adopted by and incorporated into the Church," the words of the Act, empowering the Bishop to exercise spiritual jurisdiction "over such *Protestant Congregations* as may be desirous of placing themselves under his authority," manifestly imply the reverse, that the Protestants are to come, *not as individuals, but as a body*, and to continue *as a body* under the Bishop's spiritual jurisdiction. For the spiritual jurisdiction exercised over the Protestant congregations is plainly not to be a momentary act, confined to the transfer of them from their own Church into ours, but a continuous course of action: and Mr Hope, after putting the alternative, that this spiritual jurisdiction must either be exercised by admitting them to communion, or else, if they are not in communion, "by declaring them formally excommunicate" (p. 23), himself rejects the latter supposition, and adopts the former, on account of certain expressions used in the first public notice which was given to our Church of the intention to erect a Bishopric at Jerusalem. Moreover, if there had been no special prepossessions to obscure Mr Hope's view, he would doubtless have discerned, that, though the Prussian official documents are not the proper source from which our Church is to draw her knowledge of the character and objects of the new institution, yet, seeing that it is acknowledged on all hands to be the result of a negociation and compact with the King of Prussia, the interpretation put upon the measure by the Prussian Government must needs be a material element for determining its real nature; so long at least as we are left without some authoritative declaration to the contrary. In truth, if the Bishopric which the English Government and the two Prelates of our Church intended to establish at Jerusalem, was designed by them to be nothing else than what Mr Hope asserts the Jerusalem Bishopric to be, I know not how it would be possible to acquit them of having

practist a scandalous fraud on the King of Prussia, who, it is clear, had acted throughout in godly simplicity and good faith; a fraud which, in ordinary life, would be termed a shameful piece of swindling, and might probably be punisht by transportation; and which, "considering (as Mr. Hope says in p. 27) the special responsibility of a Bishop, I, for my own part, do not know how to qualify by any lighter name." Thus the conclusion to which Mr Hope gets at the end of his pamphlet, and which he proclaims with a sort of triumph, that his arguments "go to the entire destruction of the theory propounded in the Prussian document" (p. 36), and "exclude Prussian Protestants as a formal collective body from our Bishop's communion at Jerusalem" (p. 38), would at all events, if tenable, place our Prelates in this happy dilemma, that either they had wittingly been guilty of gross swindling in their dealings with the King of Prussia, or else that their conduct had been markt with such imbecillity, that, while intending to effect a certain measure in conformity to a solemn engagement, they had so contrived the measure as wholly to violate that engagement. Were it not that common honesty is so often left out of account by zealots in ecclesiastical and religious controversies, as a vulgar thing unworthy of notice by those who are contesting about Canons and Rubrics, one should be surprised that an able and honorable man should acquiesce self-complacently in having brought his argument to an issue, by which at all events the King of Prussia was to be defrauded, whether our Bishops did it willingly, or through blundering stupidity.

In his original pamphlet Mr Hope seems rather to propend to the former of these alternatives. At least the main object of that pamphlet was to shew that nothing had been done in the establishment of the new Bishopric to fulfill the expectation excited in the Prussian Government by the negociation with our Prelates; though their first brief announcement of the scheme had distinctly declared their intention of fulfilling it. In the Postscript to his second edition however Mr Hope is forced to admit (p. 48), that "the Prussian Document is supported and confirmed in all material points" by the authoritative Statement which our Prelates

had then put forth. Hereupon one might have thought he would have abandoned his position. But no: arguments and facts are equally unavailing to shake a resolute man's conviction. Even when you fancy you have not left him a leg to stand on, he will fight, like Witherington, on his stumps. In the Statement it is naturally laid down that the new Bishop's jurisdiction is to be "*exercised, as nearly as may be, according to the laws, canons, and customs of the Church of England.*" The rest of the Statement confirms the Prussian view of the case, and contradicts Mr Hope's: at the sight of this clause however he revives. Our Bishop at Jerusalem seemed to have got free from the ties which had been fashioned so dexterously to keep him motionless: but here is a prospect of slipping the strait waistcoat upon him again, with fresh unlookt for bandages. The statement not only subjects the new Bishop to the "*canons,*" but also to the "*laws and customs*" of the Church of England; which words, Mr. Hope presumes, "include the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, Cawdry's Case, Viner's Abridgement, tit. Prohibition, Comyns's Digest, tit. Prerogative, *et hoc genus omne.*" What is the poor Bishop to do? Must he not resign himself to his fate? What would even Boniface have done, had he gone to Germany thus gagged and handcuft? or Augustin, had he come thus to England? Happily however there is still an escape. That little clause, *as nearly as may be,* enables him to slip out of this strait waistcoat, as he had out of the previous net. These words shew, that, in carrying out the great objects of his mission, as set forth in the rest of the Statement, he is to be guided, as far as may be consistent with their due execution, by the Canons, laws, and customs of our Church, not however to let the observance of those Canons and laws defeat the very work for which he was especially appointed.

A short time after the publication of Mr Hope's second Edition, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the King of Prussia explicitly stated that the congregations of German Protestants under our Bishop at Jerusalem are to use a German Liturgy, taken from Liturgies used in Prussia, and that the candidates for holy orders, after having satisfied the Bishop as to their competency

and their soundness in the faith, are to be ordained on signing the three Creeds. I know not whether Mr Hope has ever drawn up a proof how this Letter still further confirms his whole view of the character of the Bishopric: but even Witherington, even Cynegirus, at last could not hold out longer. The rule with regard to ordination may indeed be termed a bold step: and so it certainly is in days when a stiff and narrow formalism has been lifting up its head again: but it is all the more honorable on this account to those who had the courage to take it: and, while it is the legitimate consequence of the whole previous proceedings, it lays down, for the first time in these modern ages, what is the true ground of Christian Communion.

I have engaged in this long examination of Mr Hope's pamphlet, because, while it certainly is very able and plausible, it is held up by the opponents of the Jerusalem Bishopric as unanswered and unanswerable. Yet answered it was at the time, and refuted in its main positions, most completely and triumphantly, as were also the other chief objections to the Bishopric, by the dear friend, who has since become my brother, in his *Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer*, and the Appendixes subjoined to them. In going over the same ground, I have had to use many of the same arguments; and I have thought it advisable to enter more into details, because many persons are readily imposed upon by a show of technical precision, as though, when a lawyer fortifies himself with cases and Canons, his position must needs be impregnable. Thus much Mr Hope has certainly establisht, that, if the whole body of our Canons and Rubrics are to be set up as our terms of communion with forein Churches, no member of any Church, except our own, can ever be admitted to our communion: and we may wish this distinguisht champion of Catholic truth joy of such a discovery: we here see what the most enlarged mind may become under the bondage of ordinances; we see to what slavery the Canonists, if they were allowed to have their way, would bring us. But he has not shewn,—on the contrary he has entirely past over the previous question,—whether the whole body of our Canons and Rubrics were ever designed by our Church

to be her terms of communion with forein Churches; and our unvarying practice since the Reformation, it seems to me, supported by the express declaration of our 34th Article, constrains us to conclude that they were not. On certain other technical difficulties, which were mooted against the institution of the new Bishopric, such as the sending of a Bishop into the see of another, and the establishment of a Bishopric of our Church on territory not subject to the English Crown, Mr Hope's decision is very satisfactory. In the present condition of the world and of the Church, divided as nations and Churches are, by languages, institutions, habits, modes of thought and feeling, the growth of many centuries, during which each nation and Church has been unfolding itself after its kind, it is plain that a rule, which belonged to and presupposed a wholly different state of things, is become inapplicable. It is neither practicable, nor desirable, that the members of our Church, who are residing in the south of Europe, or in Asia Minor and Syria and Egypt, should conform to the dominant Churches in those parts: and as the numbers of English living abroad are continually increasing through the ever increasing facilities of traveling, it becomes more and more the duty of our Church to provide pastoral care for her children in forein lands: nor should her pastors abroad be left without episcopal superintendence. It is also satisfactory to read Mr Hope's recognition (p. 34), that, as "the Crown alone, or the Crown empowered by Parliament, has since the Reformation exercised the prerogative (of erecting new sees) within the British dominions,"—as "it is by the Crown alone that many of our Colonial Bishoprics have been erected,"—and as, "in the erection of Bishop Alexander's see, the act of the Crown has been sanctioned by Parliament," and, "the Primate of the Church of England also concurred in the measure,"—"it may safely be asserted, that in all formal respects the Anglican See of Jerusalem has been as solemnly erected as any of our modern Bishoprics." Whether the opponents of the Bishopric will be equally satisfied with the quandary in which he leaves them, I know not. He suggests the means whereby they may attempt to repudiate what they may

deem irregular acts committed by the Bishop in his dealings with the forein Protestants under his spiritual jurisdiction; "by raising the question formally in the Ecclesiastical Court of Canterbury, or before the Archbishop in person (p. 36)."

On the questions of principle, which have been the real ground of the vehement opposition to the Jerusalem Bishopric, Mr Hope scarcely touches; nor need I dwell long upon them. For they are continually coming forward in one shape or other in the ecclesiastical controversies of the day. As is mostly the case indeed, when parties grow heated, sundry misapprehensions arose, and added fresh fuel to the hostility: and the true source of the opposition was so palpably adverse to the spirit which has uniformly prevailed in our Church, from the Reformation down to our days, that whatever might furnish a plea for caviling was sedulously scraped together. The measure was supposed by some to have been dictated by a spirit of hostility to Rome; but for this notion, as we have seen above, there was not the slightest warrant. Others complained that we were going to disturb the tranquillity of the Greek Church. But the desire and purpose of the King of Prussia, we have seen, as well as of our own Prelates, was to make the new Bishopric the medium of a friendly intercourse with the Eastern Churches, especially with the Greek; not indeed without a hope of helping thereby to promote the spiritual welfare of the Greek Church: such a wish however, if it do not vent itself insolently or indiscreetly, is not very reprehensible. Surely too, if, as is alledged, our ministers and missionaries in Syria and Asia Minor are often apt to make predatory incursions into the territory of the Greek Church, the proper way of checking this tendency, and of restoring the spirit which ought to prevail between sister Churches, must be by setting a Bishop over our missionaries, specially charged to maintain amicable relations with the ancient Christians of the East. Doubtless in so doing he will have various difficulties to encounter: this however merely proves the need of the office, and of a man gifted with spiritual wisdom to fill it. Another alarm has been got up about our relations with the other Eastern Churches. Mr Hope here comes forward with

his law, and pronounces (p. 6) that "bodies holding any doctrine condemned by the first four general Councils are, in our law, heretical; and an English Bishop will of course take care that he does not involve himself in their guilt." Of course he will. On this legal axiom, though the discussion is not suited to this place, I cannot, with all deference to Mr Hope's superior knowledge, refrain from expressing a doubt. For, though the Act of Elizabeth, in narrowing the bounds of heresy, as an offense cognisable by our courts, enacts that nothing shall be adjudged to be heresy, unless it had been adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by some of the first four General Councils, the proposition, that nothing else shall be adjudged to be heresy, is not convertible into this, that whatever those Councils condemned shall be adjudged to be heresy. As to the dread lest our Bishop should be implicated in the guilt of these heresies, it is almost amusing. Surely, if there be any place where the members of our Church are likely to be led astray by insidious heresies, this is the very place to which we ought to send a wise Bishop to watch over them. Or do those who are so fond of magnifying the episcopal office, mean that our Bishops are to lie in lavender, and that they must not venture into any spot where their lawn sleeves may run the risk of being soiled? This is not their meaning, I know; but they take up any argument to serve their turn. Even Dr. Pusey, in his *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury* (p. 121), ejaculates, "Your Grace will readily feel how shocking it would be to be thus brought close within the touch of heresy." Alas! there are still remnants of that spirit which made it a matter of wonder that a Jew should ask water of a woman of Samaria; of that pharisaical pride which cries *Stand off, thou heretic! and dare not come near to an orthodox believer.* Here I will insert an extract from the Prussian Minister's Exposition of his Royal Master's views; and the reader may judge on which side the spirit of Christ is to be found, whether among the enemies or among the establishers of the Jerusalem Bishopric. "As the true Church of the East, the Bishop is to regard the Greek Church, which agrees with the

West in receiving the decrees of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and consequently in the dogmatical development of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. From her the Nestorian and Monophysite Churches,—one might say, the whole countries in which these views have grown up,—have cut themselves off. The Nestorian view was rejected by the Church, because in the too distinct separation of the Divine and Human nature in Christ lay the danger of losing the living unity of His Person. On the other hand the Monophysites, by confounding the two, and looking not merely for the unity of Person, but for a unity of Nature in Christ, were exposed to the risk of rejecting the reality of His Divinity and Humanity. Now indistinct as may be the persuasion which the present members of these sects may possess with regard to the deeper grounds of this controversy, and to the true meaning of the contested expressions and formulas, which do not properly belong to the province of Christian faith, but of Christian philosophy; yet we cannot relinquish our persuasion, or give up the grounds which the Church gained in that controversy for the doctrine of the Person of Christ; nor can we pronounce the development of that doctrine from those grounds in the whole Western Church to be a matter of indifference. Still we need not on this account attach an inordinate value to abstract philosophico-theological definitions, or allow ourselves to be hindered in the least thereby from a friendly intercourse with those Churches. We do not condemn them; but hitherto the Monophysites at least condemn us and our doctrine, though the Armenians at Constantinople are recently said to have made a cheering exception thereto. By a friendly intercourse, without controversy, we may hope in time to bring about an understanding on these most important dogmatical questions. Then at length may the nations, which are at present Monophysite or Nestorian, occupy their right position, namely that of particular national Churches, with important national peculiarities, and perhaps with certain divergences in minuter points of dogmatical theology, but still with the consciousness of an essential unity in faith, and in the leading articles of doctrine."

The real cause however why the Jerusalem Bishopric has been

attackt so violently and pertinaciously, is, that by it we were to be brought into closer connexion with the German Protestants. Now the prospect of such a connexion would in any previous age have been hailed with delight and thankfulness, not merely by one party in our Church, but by all. For to all the members of our Church the name of Protestant was for centuries a matter of glory; and we felt that we were bound by sacred ties to all who bore it. Both politically and ecclesiastically the English nation and Church regarded themselves as intimately united to every Protestant body, and as the appointed champions of the Protestant cause. Elizabeth and Cromwell and William the Third were so indeed more energetically and heartily, according to the vigour and greatness of their characters; but the first two Stuarts also, after the measure of their feebleness, recognised that this is the duty of England. Only in the disgraceful reigns of the latter Stuarts were any doubts on the subject entertained at Court; and the doubts of the Court were not shared by the nation, but stirred up the nation against the Court, until at length it shook off the ignominious yoke of treachery and falsehood. In the Notes on the Sermons subjoined to *the Mission of the Comforter* (pp. 1006, 1007), I have cited a few passages in proof that our brotherhood with the Protestant Churches on the Continent was affectionately recognized, not by Low-Churchmen and Puritans, but by the very persons whom our modern Romanizers used to hold up as the exemplars of English Churchmen, by Archbishop Sancroft, and by the Lower House of Convocation in 1689 and in 1705. In the latter year the Lower House, speaking on a project closely akin to that which we are discussing,—the plan of introducing the English Liturgy, and Episcopacy by means of English Ordinations, into Prussia,—say that they cannot "omit taking notice of *the present endeavours of several Reformed Churches to accommodate themselves to our Liturgy and Constitution.*—They are very desirous of knowing in what manner it may be proper for this Convocation,—*to express their great satisfaction to find in them such good dispositions, and their readiness to maintain and cherish such a fraternal correspondence with them, as may strengthen the interest of the*

Reformed Religion against the common enemy." (See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, p. 722.) The evidence which I have adduced of this state of feeling might easily be decupled or centupled, were there need. In fact the difficulty would be to bring forward any evidence of opposite views and feelings, as entertained by any of our divines of the slightest eminence, previous to the recent insurrection of Romish principles in the heart of our Church. That a like spirit still prevailed among the most soberminded and judicious down to our days, is proved by the loving wish for "a more cordial union among all Protestant Churches" exprest in the Charge quoted above, in p. 76. Nay, surely heinous guilt would be incurred by those, who, asserting that Episcopacy is indispensable to the existence of a Church, and to the ministration of sacramental grace, and that they who are without it have no share in Christ's redemption, would yet wantonly withhold that ordinance, where they have the means of bestowing it: only they do not really believe what they say: their opinions do not form part of a coherent system, but are pickt up as they are driven and tost about by the impulses of party-spirit.

Thus the measure proposed by the King of Prussia, so far as it was designed to lead to a closer union of the Protestant Churches, was no way repugnant to the traditional feelings and notions of the English Church, but was such as would in all ages have been welcomed with joy by the lovers of our Church, more especially by those who most prized her distinctive form of government and discipline. The Charge too, which I quoted above, further proves, that those who from their position may be expected to speak the mind of the English Church in our own days, as throughout her history since the Reformation, regard her as a Protestant Church, and regard the other communities of Christians, who were severed from the Romish Church at the Reformation, as Protestant Churches. For in expressing his wish "for a more cordial union among all Protestant Churches," which title evidently includes our own, it is plain that the Archbishop was not using any novel language, or asserting anything which he supposed to be questionable, but merely speaking as he conceived all his predecessors would have

spoken, from Archbishop Parker downwards. So alien is the mind of the English Church from that newfangled upstart heresy which disclaims the name of Protestant, and audaciously denies the name of Church to the German Lutherans. In fact, even among the victims of that heresy, among its chief promulgators, are persons, who, not twenty years ago, joined in expelling Sir Robert Peel from the representation of Oxford, because, as they asserted, he had betrayed the Protestant cause. So late too as 1837, Mr Newman, in the Advertisement prefixt to his *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church*, said: "Viewed politically, Protestantism is at this day the rallying point of all that is loyal and highminded in the nation."

A few years ago it would have been a waste of words to cite evidence for the sake of proving what everybody then well knew to be the fact. But in the giddy whirl of our age, when opinions too are traveling at railway speed, people are apt to forget to-day what they themselves and all the world thought yesterday: and sometimes they will kick away their cast off opinions, and trample upon them, and protest that no rational being can ever have held anything so absurd. A year or two after Mr Newman had spoken thus of Protestantism, a cry was set up against Protestantism by persons so learned in the history of the Church, that they drew their notion of Protestantism from the orators in Exeter Hall. At first indeed the object of attack was what was called Ultra-Protestantism: but ere long it was assumed that Ultra-Protestantism and Protestantism are identical; though the very difference in the names is a mark that there must be an essential difference in the things designated by them; and though it is notorious that the evils which are found to result from a principle carried to excess, no way prove that the principle in itself is evil, but often bear witness of its power for good. Under the influence of this delusion, when it was known that the proposition for the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric had been laid before our Prelates, and had been favorably entertained by them, the measure was denounced as alien to the principles of the Anglican Church, involving her in a connexion with Protestantism, and branding her with the stigma

of being a Protestant body. Of the most virulent of these railers, who condemned the Prussian Church on the score of what he had seen and heard among the Protestants in France, and the Evangelical dissidents at Geneva, and of other evidence equally relevant, scarcely a particle of it bearing in any way even on the state of religion in Prussia,—and who poured out vollies of anathemas with a spirit like that of an angry boy throwing stones,—there is no need to speak. He received his *quietus*, and will only be remembered through the Reply which he called forth. But there was another opponent, whose name and previous life rendered him far more formidable, and whose first theological work had been an Apology for the German Church, remarkable, among the writings of English divines, for its laborious learning and thoughtful candour. Dr Pusey has indeed recently retracted a large part of the opinions exprest in his Answers to Mr Rose: he does not inform us however by what force of reasoning he felt himself constrained to abandon conclusions, at which he had arrived by a long and elaborate research carried on with conscientious diligence for a series of years. He pleads that on certain points he wrote in ignorance: yet his earlier writings on German theology evince a large amount of learning, and of accurate discriminating investigation; whereas the judgements which he has recently pronounced on the same subject, have mostly been unsupported assertions. Instead of being anxious, as formerly, that English readers should understand the growth and real purport of that which they are called upon to condemn, he has appealed to their blind prejudices for the sake of obtaining a verdict. A full exposure of the misrepresentations contained in his *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, where he introduces a long attack on the Prussian Church, for the sake of averting the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric, would require a much longer discussion than I can allow myself to insert in this Note. Nor ought such a refutation to be wanted, inasmuch as the work has already been performed thoroughly, in a pamphlet written with admirable mildness and candour, by a person possessing every requisite for such a task, M. Abeken. Still, as the reply of an unknown foreiner

has a poor chance of weighing in England, or at least with a very large body of our Church, against the statements of the head of a party, like Dr Pusey, the graces of whose character in other respects obtain a credit for him, such as neither his arguments nor his assertions deserve, — and as Dr Pusey himself has not scrupled to republish his statements with scarcely a correction, notwithstanding the full exhibition of their erroneousness by M. Abeken, so that his picture of the Prussian Church is doubtless still regarded by numbers as correct and faithful,—I feel bound to shew again how perverted and false it is.

The principal points in Dr Pusey's invective against the German Church are summed up in an elaborate cumulative sentence, constructed with a good deal of rhetorical skill, where, contending against the hope entertained that a beneficial effect might be produced upon the Churches of the East by the spectacle of a united Church, pure in doctrine and practice, he says that he cannot see "how the picture of a united Church could be presented by an English and Lutheran congregation, of which the one holds 'One Holy Catholic Church, throughout all the world,' knit together by its Bishops, as 'joints and bands,' under its One Head, Christ, and joined on by unbroken succession to the Apostles; the other, an indefinite number of Churches, hanging together by an agreement in a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves, and modified by the civil power: of which the one holds Confirmation to be the act of the Bishop, the other deems such unnecessary, but accepts it for its younger members: the one holds Ordination to be derived from the Apostles; the other, that Presbyters, uncommissioned, may confer it, and that those on whom it has been so conferred, may consecrate the Holy Eucharist: the one recites the Creed of Nicaea, the other has laid it aside: in the one, ancient prayer, the inspired Psalms, and hearing God's Word, are the chief part of their weekly service; in the other, uninspired hymns and preaching with prayer extempore; the one kneel in prayer, the other not even at the Holy Eucharist: with the one, the Lord's Day

is a Holy Day, with the other a holyday: the one receives 'the Faith' as 'once for all delivered to the saints;' the other, as susceptible of subsequent correction and development: the one rests her authority and the very titles of her existence on being an Ancient Church, the other boasts itself Modern: the one, not founded by man, but descended of that founded on the day of Pentecost; the other dating itself truly from Luther, and claiming to be the parent of all, not in outward communion with the Great Eastern and Western Branches, and so of our own Church by whom it was originally converted: the one recognises and has been recognised by the Ancient Church of the East, the other rejects her and is anathematized by her."

On reading over this extraordinary sentence, one cannot but be struck by the enormous importance attacht in it to things secondary and no way essential. A number of ritual and ceremonial differences are strung together for the sake of averting a measure designed to promote Unity in the Church, under the notion that these differences are inimical to, and almost incompatible with Unity. Now which body of practices may in itself be the more appropriate manifestation of a Christian spirit, is another question: the members of each Church will doubtless prefer those they are familiar with, the power of habit in such things being almost absolute. But to lay great stress on these matters as obstacles to a union between different Churches, is a fresh proof how the minds of our English divines have been narrowed and crampt by the miserable hankering after Uniformity. Although our Reformers had so wisely laid down in the 34th Article, that "it is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word,"—and although it is equally clear upon historical and upon philosophical grounds that this is the only tenable principle, demonstrated likewise to be so by the voice of Christian love, and by the express precepts of the New Testament, — that stiff

imperious self-will, which is one of the chief diseases of the English character, is prone to demand that all mankind shall dress themselves after our pattern. A few years back we used to fancy that the forms of our Constitution were the panacea for all political evils; and we imposed them upon countries wholly unfit to receive them. Experience of the results of this folly has latterly somewhat abated it; but a still more mischievous one has been thrusting itself forward, insisting that the adoption of our ecclesiastical forms is essential to Christianity. Now certainly Dr Pusey is so far right, that, where such a spirit is prevalent, it would be impossible to exhibit a spectacle of Unity, along with diversities of practice. But is it quite unwarrantable to hope that Christian love may be sufficiently powerful to preserve Unity, amid, and notwithstanding such diversities? Surely we may be one in our One Lord, although some of us pray to the Father through Him on their knees, others standing. Yea, we may be one, through the Communion of His Holy Body, even with those who may receive that Body standing: else how can we be one with the company of the Apostles, who doubtless were sitting, or rather lying round the table, when they received it at its first divine institution? Assuredly too it would be a truly edifying picture of a united Church, if we were to present ourselves as one, notwithstanding all such varieties of form and usage; a picture such as the Church has rarely exhibited in the course of eighteen centuries: so mighty has that carnal spirit been within her, which, the Apostle tells us, is the source of *strife and divisions*. This would not be *agreeing to differ* as the phrase is,—an expression which, in a certain sense, implies a reprehensible carelessness about the truth,—but agreeing in spite of differences. We may agree, and be conscious of our agreement, of our unity, in that which is essential and fundamental, and may resolve that this inward consciousness and the outward manifestation of our essential agreement and unity shall not be destroyed or shaken, even though there be a number of differences amongst us with regard to secondary matters: we may resolve that the sense of these

differences shall not separate us, or set us at variance. We may do this under the conviction of our mutual fallibility, and of the infirmity of our nature, even though the differences relate to truths with regard to which the right view must needs be one. For in such cases differences, when the result of sincere convictions, even among individuals, much more if held by bodies of men through generations, are oftener apparent repugnances between partial apprehensions of the truth, which we perceive from different aspects, and approach from different sides, than anything like an absolute opposition between truth and falsehood: and we may humbly trust that, if we walk according to what we have received, in the spirit of love, exhorting one another, and at the same time forbearing one another, God will reveal that to us, which we may not as yet have discerned. On the other hand, when the differences are outward, and pertain to that which is ritual and ceremonial, it behoves us to bear in mind, that, of outward things, hardly any is in itself right or wrong, or imperatively binding upon all men; none in fact, unless there be an express divine command bearing immediately and unequivocally upon it. Custom indeed will often stamp a moral character on that, which in itself has none; and in so doing its procedure will be very variable, and may not seldom seem arbitrary and capricious: yet, when such associations have long been establisht, the unreflecting, who have grown up under their influence, are apt to regard them as a necessary part of the order of nature. Thus to us it appears an indispensable mark of reverence to uncover our heads on entering a holy place; and we should be shockt to see a man keep his head covered, and begin pulling off his boots or shoes. In Eastern nations on the other hand the practice for more than three thousand years has been that which we should condemn; and to them our behaviour seems strangely indecorous. Each thinks himself right; and so he is, if the outward act is not a mere empty form, but the symbol of a living feeling. Yet it no way follows from our being right, that they who differ from us are not just as right; though our proneness to confound

the form with the substance is ever leading us to pronounce that they cannot be so. These prejudices no wise man will wantonly defy or irritate, though he will desire to moderate them, and to place them on their right footing; even as St Paul did, readily conforming to every lawful institution, yet continually teaching that no such can have any absolute inherent value. Now among the consequences of that fusion of nations, which is every year increasing, and seems likely to increase without limit, from the operation of sundry causes connected with a high state of civilization, one is, that diverse customs are perpetually brought into juxtaposition, and set to confront one another. Hence it is a lesson, which we have a special call to learn in these days, that we have no more warrant to take offense at customs, however different from our own, unless indeed there be a positive taint of moral evil in them, than we have to quarrel with the inhabitants of other countries for not speaking our language. Their customs are, like their language, the symbols of their traditionary thoughts and feelings, and, if worse than ours in some respects, will probably in others be better, that is, fitter for expressing their meaning: at all events they will be better for the people who have been nurtured under them. Hence, seeing that God has been pleased to glorify His infinite power and wisdom by the infinite variety of His Creation, and vouchsafes to receive glory from the diversities of gifts in His creatures, every people, every Church, every community is to honour Him after its kind, by the full and free exercise of all those faculties, intellectual and moral, which He has assigned to them, in conformity to those hereditary notions, which are themselves a portion of their intellectual and moral inheritance. The unity of light is not broken up and dissolved, but rather shines out with more resplendent beauty, in the varied hues of the rainbow. Why then should men split into hostile parties, nay, why should they not live in fellowship and amity, and unite in the worship of God, though one portion of them think it right to wear a red turban, another a green? He who lets the light shine upon the red, lets it shine no less complacently upon the

green. This will readily be acknowledged; for, when we see a prejudice in others, we are quick in seizing its absurdity, however blind we may be to its counterpart in ourselves. It may indeed be a reprehensible wilfulness not to give up our own will for the sake of peace; but it is a far more reprehensible wilfulness to impose our will on others, though at the risk of war: and this is the primary evil, of which the other is the natural effect and reaction. And when the practice, the abandonment of which is required of a man,—is that of all his friends, of his countrymen, of his fathers and forefathers for generations, manifold motives of honour and reverence and tender affection constrain him to cling to it; and he will almost deem that he should be a traitor to the memory of his ancestors, if he were to cast it off at the dictate of those who treat it with contemptuous reproach. At all events, if there be any essential spiritual advantage in the posture of kneeling in prayer, we are much likelier to win our brethren to follow our example, if we kneel lovingly by their sides, than if we try to thrust or drag them down perforce, or cast them out because they will not do as we do. This would be the best way, even if they formed part of the same congregation: provided that each prays and receives in faith and reverently, the posture matters little. But when the congregations are to be distinct, like the English and German under our Bishop at Jerusalem, what sort of a spirit must that be, which would prohibit their union as members of the same Church, because in the one congregation it is the custom to pray kneeling, in the other, standing? Even in an army, in which uniformity is of greater moment than in any other body, the stiffest martinet that ever lived would allow regiments of cavalry and infantry to stand together in the same battle-array. Nor would any one but a madman maintain that the Centaurs and Lapithae must continue for ever in unmitigated, irreconcilable hostility.

By Dr Pusey indeed the question of postures is regarded as of such primary importance, that, in a Note added to the third Edition of his Pamphlet, he has taken upon him to read a

grave lecture to the Lutherans for their irreverence in not kneeling at the reception of the Eucharist. In the course of it he says, in p. 147: "The Lutheran attitude of receiving it, (for it is Lutheran—) the Lutheran attitude of standing, as it is unexampled (the writer believes) elsewhere, so it has not the semblance of plea, which the Calvinist put forth for his position of sitting. Both are inventions of men; but the Calvinist, claiming to adhere to what he found on the *surface* of the Bible (for the attitude of kneeling is in a deeper sense involved in the words, 'they have eaten and worshipped') is at the least consistent." It is quite distressing to see a good and learned man flounder about thus, dashing at one rash assertion after another, for the sake of throwing shame on one of the best branches of the Church, without taking the trouble to ascertain the correctness of anything he says. The attitude of standing in prayer, for which the Lutherans are so severely reprehended, is shewn by M. Abeken to be expressly enjoined by the 20th Canon of the Nicene Council: *ἐπειδή τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις· ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πασῇ παροικίᾳ φυλάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ. Whereas there are some persons who kneel on the Lord's day, and during the days of Pentecost, it seems good to the holy Synod, for the sake of having all things observed in every parish, that people should pray to God standing.* The desire of establishing uniformity in such matters had already crept into the Church; and the Council orders that on those days, on which the Resurrection is especially commemorated, all should stand in prayer, not kneel. For this, we learn from Basil, in his Treatise on the Holy Spirit (c. xxvii), was the ground of the order: *ἀναγκαίως οὖν τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ (τῇ κυριακῇ) προσευχὰς ἑστῶτας ἀποπληροῦν τοὺς ἑαυτῆς τροφιμοὺς ἡ ἐκκλησία παιδεύει, ἵνα τῇ συνεχεῖ ὑπομνήσει τῆς ἀτελευτήτου ζωῆς τῶν πρὸς τὴν μετάστασιν ἐκείνην ἐφοδίων μὴ ἀμελῶμεν.* Augustin too speaks of the practice ordained by the Church, as general, if not universal: "*Ut autem stantes in illis diebus et omnibus dominicis oremus, utrum ubique servetur*

ignoro: tamen quid in eo sequatur Ecclesia, dixi ut potui; et arbitror esse manifestum:" Epist. lv. 32. Several other passages from the Fathers, bearing witness to this practice, are quoted, along with these, by Beveridge in his note on the Nicene Canon. Now even from hence, if we had no decisive testimony to the contrary, we might conclude that the ordinary mode of receiving the Eucharist in the early Church would be standing, the very mode which Dr Pusey, for the sake of casting reproach upon the Lutherans, says he believes to be "unexampled:" and if we look into Bingham (xv. v. 3), we find that such was actually the case. All the evidence that he cites is in proof of this mode; nor does he produce any for kneeling at the Eucharist, though he tries by inference to make out that this must also have been in use. On the other hand, Augusti, in his *Christian Archeology* (vol. viii. p. 250), says: "That the practice of kneeling at the Communion, *which prevails among the Catholics and the Lutherans*, both at the consecration and the distribution, did not arise till the 12th or 13th centuries, or become universal till later, has been set beyond a question by the learned enquiries of Basnage, Deyling, De Lith, and Cotta.—The adoration of the Host at its elevation may have been the first occasion of this practice; but that it is not inseparable from that adoration is proved by the example of the Lutherans, who reject the elevation and adoration of the elements, *yet have retained the kneeling at the Communion.*" This is not the place for enquiring into the correctness of the former assertion; but at all events this extract will shew with what carelessness, on such an occasion most reprehensible, Dr Pusey wrote, that the attitude of standing in receiving the Communion "*is Lutheran*," and that he believes it to be "*unexampled elsewhere.*" So far indeed is it from being the Lutheran practice, that, in the controversy recently excited in Bavaria by the order that all the troops, Protestants as well as Romanists, should kneel down whenever the Host is elevated or carried by, a main argument urged by Harless, a strenuous Lutheran, who contended against this oppressive order in the Bavarian Chamber, and afterwards by his pen, is, that "*the chief outward sign of the Lutheran*

faith is kneeling at the reception of the Eucharist, as before the Lord who is present when it is received," and that, as it is not their practice to kneel on other occasions, this act, which with them has such a solemn significance, ought not to be required as a mere mark of respect, such as a stranger may be expected to pay to religious rites, even when he does not take part in them. As to Dr Pusey's assertion that both standing and sitting "are inventions of men," what is kneeling? If any one of the three postures, as applied to the reception of the Eucharist, is more an invention of man than the other two, it is assuredly kneeling. For we may suppose the Apostles at the original institution to have been sitting, or, which amounts to the same thing, lying: or it is possible that they may have been standing, after the manner of eating the Passover: but assuredly they were not kneeling. In like manner the other passages in the New Testament, in which the Communion is spoken of, are compatible with the supposition that the recipients may have stood or sat, but quite inconsistent with the notion of their having knelt. And few soberminded men will be able to penetrate to that deeper sense, in which, Dr Pusey tells us, the attitude of kneeling at the Eucharist "is involved in the words, *they have eaten and worshipt.*" He who seeks for light on such a point will rather go to the New Testament, than to the 22nd Psalm. It is by straining his eyes thus to find out what is not, that Dr Pusey, as it would seem, has almost lost the power of seeing what is. At the same time we may be thoroughly convinced that our Church, in ordaining that her children shall kneel at the Communion, has made a very wise use of her rightful "power to decree rites and ceremonies." It is thus that Hooker justifies her practice (v. 68. 3): "We do that which fitness and great decency hath made usual."

The foregoing remarks may suffice with regard to a large part of the stumblingblocks and walls of partition which Dr Pusey tries to set up, for the sake of preventing a nearer union between our Church and that of Prussia. Even if the whole series of statements in his elaborate contrast between the two

Churches were correct,—which they are not,—even if they did not abound, as they do, in gross misrepresentations,—the main part of the discrepancies ought not to be deemed obstacles to unity. But there are one or two points in the contrast, which call for a somewhat closer examination, in order that the reader may see how utterly fallacious it is. The most important article in it would seem to be that which stands at the head of the list, and which certainly does set forth a wide difference of view concerning the nature and office of the Church. We, Dr Pusey asserts, hold "One Holy Catholic Church throughout all the world, knit together by its Bishops, as 'joints and bands,' under its One Head, Christ, and joined on by unbroken succession to the Apostles;" while the Lutherans hold "an indefinite number of Churches, hanging together by an agreement in a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves, and modified by the civil power." Between these views, as thus stated, there is undoubtedly a vast discrepancy, almost a repugnancy: and a person who knew nothing of the history of the German Reformation, would suppose, from what Dr Pusey here says, that Luther and his followers must either have never read, or must have rejected the New Testament, or at all events the Epistles of St Paul. What then would be his amazement, if he were told that, while we, in the Apostles Creed, profess our belief in "the Holy Catholic Church," and again, in the Nicene Creed, that in "one Catholic and Apostolic Church," the Lutherans, retaining the three Catholic Creeds, profess the very same belief! and further that, in the 7th Article of their peculiar Confession, they declare: "Item docent, *quod una Sancta Ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit: est autem Ecclesia congregatio Sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur Sacramenta:*" of which latter words the English Article on the Church, the 19th, is almost a literal translation: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered." "*I suppose,*" he would exclaim, "*the author of this pamphlet must know no-*

thing about the subject he is speaking of: or else he must belong to that Society, who, calling themselves by the name of Jesus, have often been dismally unscrupulous about truth, if they could serve any party purpose." Of the plea of ignorance unfortunately Dr Pusey cannot avail himself, even with regard to this one subject, sorry as that plea would be: for in former years he has shewn a remarkable acquaintance with the history of the German Church, and with its theology; and in this very passage he cites a subsequent clause from the same 7th Article of the Confession of Augsburg, for the sake of substantiating his charge, that the Lutherans hold "an indefinite number of Churches, hanging together by an agreement in a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves." The first clause of the Article,—*Docent, quod una Sancta Ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit,*—which peremptorily refutes the assertion that the Lutherans hold "*an indefinite number of Churches,*"—Dr Pusey omits. The second clause,—*Est autem Ecclesia congregatio Sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur Sacramenta,*—which proves the identity between the Lutheran view of the Church and ours, and thus refutes the assertion of their total discrepancy,—Dr Pusey omits. The third clause,—*Et ad veram unitatem Ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione Sacramentorum,*—he quotes, but only to misinterpret it, as proving that the Lutherans hold "an indefinite number of Churches, hanging together by an agreement in a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves." Here the last words, *framed by themselves,* introduce a notion alien to the Article, which is an arbitrary interpolation of Dr Pusey's. Nor does he notice how the very words which he quotes, by asserting *the unity of the Church,*—*unitatem Ecclesiae,*—refute his statement that the Lutherans only hold "*an indefinite number of Churches.*" For the contrast would be wholly unmeaning, unless this statement, placed as it is, were designed to signify that the Lutherans do not hold the unity of the Church. As to the words which Dr Pusey cites,—*Et ad veram unitatem Ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et*

administratione Sacramentorum,—they merely restate the preceding proposition, that the Church is *congregatio Sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur Sacramenta*, or, in other words, "a congregation of faithful people, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered." The reason why this proposition is repeated in the German Confession, is, because the Article proceeds to state, what we lay down in the 34th,—*Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut caeremonias ab hominibus institutas.* Agreement in the true doctrine of the Gospel, and in the administration of the Sacraments, is declared to be enough to constitute those who so agree members of the Church: and it is not necessary that there should be a like agreement in human traditions and rites and ceremonies. That *the doctrine of the Gospel*, with regard to which agreement is required, is not "*a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves*," but is equivalent to our expression, "*the pure word of God*," and refers solely to the fundamental principles of our faith, which have always been accounted essential to membership in the Church, ever since the last charge given by our Lord to the Apostles, nay, without which there never would have been a Church at all,—is plain from the concluding words of the Article: *Sicut inquit Paulus: Una fides, unum Baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium, etc.* The *consensus de doctrina Evangelii* is equivalent to *una fides*, the one Faith, which is the root and ground of the Church.

It is true, this third clause in the German Article does exclude a considerable part of the conditions, which Dr Pusey assigns to the Anglican view of the Church. The Lutheran Confession concurs with ours, in holding "One Holy Catholic Church throughout all the world:" but it does not lay down that this Church must be "knit together by its Bishops, as *joints and bands*,—and joined on by unbroken succession to the Apostles.'" Nor has our Church ever laid down this: in fact she has carefully and deliberately abstained from doing so. The large-minded wisdom which guided our Reformers, withheld them

from asserting that either Episcopacy or the Apostolical Succession is essential to the idea of the Church; and they understood St Paul much too well, to indulge in the idle fancy, that Bishops are the only *joints and bands* by which *the body has nourishment ministered* to it, and *is knit together*. The parallel passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians taught them that the body is *joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth*, that is, every living member of the Church; though of course more especially they who give themselves to the work of the ministry, to the preaching of that word, and the administration of those sacraments, whereby the life, flowing from the Head, circulates through the body of the Church. Of course I am aware that, in the Preface to the Ordinal, our Church has stated that the three Orders of the Ministry have subsisted "from the Apostles time," and has provided that these three Orders "may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the United Church of England and Ireland." But here also she has refrained from asserting the necessity of the three Orders: and when we compare this Preface with what is said concerning the ministry in the 23d Article, which is worded with such exemplary judicious caution, it is clear that the omission is intentional, and that the framers of our Formularies purposely kept from pronouncing that either Episcopacy or the Apostolical Succession is essential to the constitution of a Church. They belonged to that rare class of wise men, who prize and love their own hereditary institutions, yet do not think it becomes them to insist that all the world shall adopt the same. So that Dr Pusey, in order to make as wide a breach as possible between our Church and the German, has not only grossly misrepresented and falsified their view of the Church, but has also made very important additions to ours, for which he has no sufficient warrant in our Formularies.

But we have still to see how he gets at his statement that the Lutherans hold "an indefinite number of Churches." In a note he quotes the beginning of the first Article in the Confession of Augsburg: "*The Churches among us teach*:" *Ecclesiae magno con-*

sensu apud nos docent. Instead of taking his representation of the Lutheran view of the Church from the Article which expressly treats of the Church,—of which Article he cannot possibly have been ignorant, seeing that he quotes a sentence from it immediately after,—he brings forward a sentence in which the word Church is used in a different, but very common sense, with reference to the various branches of the One Universal Church in particular countries. The princes who sign the Confession of Augsburg, that is, those of Saxony, Brandenburg, Luneburg, Hesse, Anhalt, along with the Senate of Nurenberg and of Reutlingen, declare what the Churches in their territories, *Ecclesiae apud nos,* teach: and because they adopt this, the natural and legitimate mode of expressing themselves, they are charged by Dr Pusey with denying the Unity of the Church; and the whole Lutheran Church is implicated in that charge. With as good reason might he prosecute the Churchbuilding Society for heresy, because they tell us year after year how many *Churches* they have assisted in building and repairing: and what an arch-heretic must the Bishop of London be, who engaged in the work of building fifty *Churches,* and has completed a large part of them! Nay, Dr Pusey himself is gravely involved in the same heresy; perhaps no man living under the Bench, has been so great an offender in this line. Moreover what a heretic must St Paul have been! who speaks of *the Churches of the Gentiles, the Churches of Christ, the Churches of Asia, the Churches of Judea, the Churches of Galatia, the Churches of Macedonia!* Yet to St Paul was it especially given to proclaim and unfold the great idea of the Unity of the Church, and of its living union with its Divine Head.

There yet remains one more term in the conception of the Church which Dr Pusey ascribes to the Lutherans. They hold "an indefinite number of Churches (he says), hanging together by an agreement in a scheme of doctrine framed by themselves, *and modified by the civil power.*" The allegation that their scheme of doctrine is "*framed by themselves,*" he does not support by any authority: this is a mere fabrication of his own brain. On the words "*modified by the civil power,*" he subjoins the

following note: "As in the Union of the Lutheran and Reformed bodies." Here one should have expected of a person who desired to speak the language of truth and justice, that, before he cast such an imputation on a sister Church, he would have taken some pains to ascertain whether the influence exercised by the Civil Government at the Union of the two branches of the Protestant Church in Prussia was at all essentially different from that exercised by our own Civil Government repeatedly from the beginning of the Reformation down to the passing of the Act of Uniformity. On this point let me cite the satisfactory testimony of M. Abeken. "I am sure (he says, in his Letter to Dr Pusey, with a generous trust that his opponent's candour would be as pure as his own) you will be glad to hear that your information must have been incorrect. And I wonder from what source you can have derived that information. You cannot have seen any new symbolical book drawn up for the purpose of the Union, any alteration made in the former confessions, any formulary of worship containing a new doctrine or even a modified view. If there were such, they would have been the work of the ministerial or clerical body, not of the civil power, which would stand in no other relations to them than in England the State or the Government does to your Articles. But I may confidently say, there are none. If in some parts of Germany the clergy agreed about the manner in which the doctrines were to be stated in the Catechism for the instruction of children, (as they did for example in Baden,) they disclaimed, at the same time, any intention of giving to this form a symbolical authority; and the civil power had nothing at all to do with it. But in Prussia not even so much was done; and the Church, taught by the experience of former failures, purposely avoided any meddling with the doctrines, any modification of expressions in the symbols, any attempt at framing new terms, that might embody or seem to embody new doctrinal views. The Union was simply an acknowledgement that such shades of opinion in the views entertained of divine mysteries, as existed between the different bodies of German Protestants,

need not and indeed ought not to prevent them from acknowledging and receiving together these mysteries, from joining hands and minds in prayer and acts of worship, and from working and acting together as one body for the glory of God and the propagation of the Gospel. This principle, the leading principle of that Union, I believe to be neither a sectarian nor a latitudinarian, but the only true Catholic principle of union. And if it was suggested by a pious and truly Christian King, surely this is only a reason to be more thankful to God, not to look with mistrust upon it as coming from the civil power. It is neither to learned theologians, nor to ordained priests, that the power of benefiting the Church is confined, thank God!"

M. Abeken doubtless felt sure that Dr Pusey would not only be glad to hear that the Prussian Church was free from some at least of those corruptions of doctrine and practice by which he had supposed it defaced, but that he would also be glad to seize the first opportunity of correcting the misstatements, to which, through carelessness and haste, he had given currency, and to atone, as far as he could, by an ample and ready apology for having subjected a great Christian body to wholly unmerited reproach. In fact one cannot well see how any man of common honesty, any man who would shrink from the guilt of false and calumnious detraction, could fail to do so. But alas! Dr Pusey did nothing of the sort. Although M. Abeken had thus clearly and mildly pointed out to him, that his assertion concerning the modification of Lutheran doctrine by the civil power was founded on erroneous information, or at all events that the one fact adduced to substantiate that assertion had been wholly misconceived,—although, in a tone of gentle expostulation, he had shewn how the view of "an indefinite number of Churches," which Dr Pusey had profest to deduce from the Lutheran Confession, is directly refuted by the explicit declaration of that Confession concerning the unity and perpetuity of the Church,—although he had in like manner demonstrated the erroneousness of several other statements, —Dr Pusey, when speaking of M. Abeken's Reply in a note

to the third edition of his Pamphlet, hardly condescends to retract a single one of his misrepresentations,—none indeed, except where he tries to prove that the errour is quite immaterial, or that the correction only makes the case of the Lutherans still worse than he had previously portrayed it. Toward M. Abeken personally indeed he expresses himself kindly; but he has the assurance to say (p. 150), "With regard to the question now at stake, this pamphlet contains nothing in any way to change the view put forward in my own, as to our present relation to that body." And then, instead of confessing his own misconduct toward the Lutheran Church, and humbling himself, as he ought to have done, on account of it, he proceeds to extort a confirmation of his own views from an expression of M. Abeken's concerning the Jerusalem Bishopric. What course can one take with such a controversialist? It is most painful to suspect a good man, it is, if possible, still more painful to accuse him, of deliberate wilful falsehood; nor can I believe Dr Pusey to have been guilty of such. Yet, if any other writer had acted as he has done, who would acquit him of it? Let us suppose, if we can, that he did really overlook the first two sentences in the Lutheran Article on the Church, although he quotes the very next sentence to wrest it against the Lutherans, and the whole Article does not fill nine lines,—let us suppose, if we can, that he did conscientiously conceive that the Lutheran view of the Church is enunciated in the first words of their Confession,—and it is necessary to hoodwink one's judgement in order to make such admissions,—yet, when these oversights, — granting them to have been such,—were pointed out so plainly by M. Abeken, how was it possible for Dr Pusey any longer to continue blind to them? And if he could not so continue, why did he not confess them? why did he not retract them? It appears indeed from Dr Pusey's Note, that the previous part of his Pamphlet was already in print, before he saw M. Abeken's Reply. But what of that? Surely it would not have been a very great labour to cancel a leaf or two for the sake of truth; or else to add a few sentences in candid acknowledgement of

errour in the Note. Surely it would have been better to do this, than to send out a paragraph again, which quite bristles with falsehoods. Even though the effect of these falsehoods was to incense men's minds against the Jerusalem Bishopric, and to make them look with contempt and disgust on the Lutheran Church, and with reprobation on our Prelates for entering into any connexion with it, this can hardly be accepted as a sufficient justification. And be it remembered, though falsehoods uttered in ignorance may in some measure be excusable, he who does not contradict them when their real nature is explained to him, he who allows them to circulate still, nay, issues them anew, under the authority of his name,—and that of Dr Pusey's is unhappily very great, and on questions of German theology almost absolute, with a large part of our Church,—is no less guilty, than if he had uttered them from the first with the set purpose of deceiving. In what manner Dr Pusey may palliate his conduct before his own conscience, I know not. Looking upon it as I can, with an earnest desire to think well of him, I see no way of accounting for the gross misrepresentations, which, not on this occasion solely, he has not only committed, but persisted in, except on the supposition that he must have wellnigh lost the faculty of discerning between truth and falsehood. In former times, when he loved the Germans, he loved truth, and contended for it earnestly, as it is the nature of the Germans to do. But they who get within the eddy of Rome,—it has been seen in a number of instances, recent and earlier,—are brought to believe that there is something better than truth; and thus they gradually lose the love of truth, and in the end almost the very sense of it. That this calamity should befall such a man as Dr Pusey is very strange and perplexing, even as a psychological fact; as a moral fact it is most awful. When such a man can be thus given up to delusions, let him who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.

I have spoken gravely, severely, but surely not more so than the occasion demands. A lying spirit is passing to and fro through the land, and seems, like that in Micaiah's vision, to be especially

taking possession of the spirits of the prophets, manifesting itself in those works, which, inasmuch as they profess to treat of matters connected with religion, ought above all to consecrate themselves to the God of Truth. Our religious literature, in many of its departments, especially in its journals and newspapers, is lamentably characterized by a carelessness about truth, a readiness in making rash assertions on the slightest grounds, prejudice and animosity supplying the lack of evidence. Hence, when this spirit shews itself in high places, the good of the Church requires that it should be exposed and rebuked. Still the task of exposing it is very unwelcome and painful. Therefore I will not go through a detailed examination of the other charges brought against the Lutheran Church in Dr Pusey's cumulative sentence. I will merely remark, lest any one should still be beguiled by his assertions to think unjustly of that Church, that several of his statements, when stript of his offensive mode of putting them, amount to nothing more than that, like our own Church, she has exercised her acknowledged power of decreeing concerning rites and ceremonies, wherein her judgement, as was natural, has often followed a different track from ours. Others again are merely the necessary consequences from the absence of Episcopacy: in a Church where there are no Bishops, it could not well be held that Episcopal Ordination or Confirmation are essential. Nor was it quite seemly to introduce a contrast, apparently disparaging to the Lutherans, with regard to the rite of Confirmation, when, as is known to all who have any acquaintance with the working of the Church in Germany, and as Dr Pusey himself has stated in his First Reply to Mr Rose (p. 75), "the solemnity and influence of that rite in the German Church now far exceeds that generally observable in our own." As to the latter items in Dr Pusey's long invective, I will merely quote M. Abeken's words (p. 43): "On page 132 you return to more general, yet very positive charges against the spirit of our Church; and here I can do nothing but contradict them in as general and unqualified terms. You seem entirely to forget that individual rationalist writers, be they clergymen or laymen, are not the German Church; whatever their extravagances may

have been, I confidently say, *we, the Church,* do *not* regard the "Faith" as "susceptible of subsequent correction and developement;" but we too receive it as "once for all delivered to the saints," although we believe, with the Church of England, that particular Churches may err (Art. xix.), and their errours be *corrected,* and, with you and all teachers, that man's apprehension of that faith may be *developt;*—we do *not* boast ourselves modern, but, without boasting, would suggest that the *Communion of saints,* which we confess with you in the Creed, is as ancient as God's revelation;—we do *not* date ourselves, either "truly" or untruly, from Luther, much as we love and respect that truly great man;—we do *not* claim to be the parent of all Reformed Churches,—for even though the Prussian Minister of State, whom you quote, had made use of such inappropriate language, a Prussian Minister of State is no Church authority with us; yet that Prussian Minister of State has *not* brought forward any such glaring absurdity, but, in speaking of the "Mother of all Evangelic *Confessions,*" alluded only to the undoubted fact, that the great movement of the Reformation originated in Germany, and that the *Augsburg Confession,* as the first of all declarations of return to the primitive faith of the Church, has greatly influenced most others;—we sympathize with all branches of the Church of Christ that have retained the foundations of Christianity; we therefore do *not* reject the Ancient Church of the East; and the very facts which you allude to, namely, that of the refusal of the Greek bishops to accept the hand tendered by German divines, shews that our German Churches were at least as desirous as the English and Scotch bishops were, to enter into active communion with the East; for they did neither more nor less than the bishops, in applying to the Eastern Churches; and as for the refusal they met with, did the English and Scotch bishops not meet with the same? And could they expect anything else from bishops who had condemned the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, in those very points in which it is the doctrine of the Church of England too; and had asserted against it Romish doctrines, not only in the synod of Bethlehem in 1672, but in two

previous synods of 1638 and 1642? Not that I attach great importance to all these synods; I think they have very little claim to represent the "Ancient Church of the East," and could little understand or appreciate the doctrines they condemned. A sad thing would it be, if the claims of the Church of England, or of our Church, or of any Church, to that name rested on the acknowledgement of such judges!" Of all these direct contradictions to his statements Dr Pusey takes no notice. He cannot refute them: but he issues his own false statements again without the slightest modification.

Where such gross misrepresentations of the Prussian Church, as have here been exposed, gained credit, one cannot wonder that a considerable repugnance should have been felt to the Jerusalem Bishopric, as bringing us into closer connexion with her. Still one should hardly have expected that this repugnance would have been carried to such a pitch of fierceness, as that not merely ignorant and half-witted railers, but even such a man as Mr Newman should have lancht his anathema against it. In one of his *Sermons bearing on the Topics of the Day*, that writer, who ordinarily exercises a strict controll over his speech, asserts, in language which he swells out with the most terrible denunciations of ancient prophecy (p. 379), that "the outward notes of the Church are partly gone from us, and partly going; and a most fearful judgement it is. *Behold . . . the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth; and the moon shall not cause her light to shine.—All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over them, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God.* This in good measure has fallen upon us. The Church of God is under eclipse among us." On this passage, which far more significantly describes the state of the writer's own mind, than that of our Church,—according to that confusion of the subjective with the objective, which is a characteristic of certain mental diseases,—for assuredly the notes of a Church have not been going from us, but rather coming out more clearly, however dim they may still be, during the last thirty years,—it is observed at the foot of the page,

that the assertion that the notes of a Church are "going" from us, was intended as "an allusion to the appointment of an Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, which has had a most grievous effect in weakening the argument for our Church's Catholicity, and in shaking the belief in it of individuals." And the writer adds an imprecation, equally exemplary for its Christian humility and love: "May that measure utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!" In like manner even Mr Hope says (p. 7): "If I think our Church has forfeited her Catholicity by this act, I am bound as a Catholic to leave her;" though, it is true, this is put hypothetically; and the object of his Pamphlet is to shew that the act, according to his mode of viewing it, does not involve the forfeiture of our Catholicity. Dr Pusey too, by way of warning to our Prelates, tells them (p. 91), that "circumstances connected with the plan of sending a Bishop of the English Succession to Jerusalem have awakened very deep and serious misgivings.—Many persons, whose minds had become disquieted about our Church, have, even when not set wholly at rest, yet come at last to the result, that unless our Church be committed to anything wrong, it is their duty to remain within her, and see what God will do for her. They would even think it undutiful to imagine beforehand any case, which would compell them to abandon her, as a child would shrink from contemplating that its parent would commit a sin, which should compell it to leave her roof." These passages shew into what a state of feverish delusion many members of our Church had even then been brought: and if we ask how they had been brought into it, the answer is plain: by the teaching of that school which has derived its name from the Tracts for the Times, by that teaching, of the effects of which Dr Pusey speaks with such highflown boastings. Yet the words just cited prove that many actually were in that unnatural condition which he describes: they were imagining cases which, they fancied, would compell them to abandon their parent. Had they not been in that state already, the Jerusalem Bishopric would never have awakened such thoughts in them. Things being so,

it would have beseemed Dr Pusey to point out the perversity and sinfulness of such wayward fancies and illusions, and to reprove and remonstrate with those who would not unwillingly have listened to his voice, rather than to encourage them by using all the arts, and more than the lawful arts of rhetoric to paint the act, which they were already disposed to regard as a sin of their parent, in the most offensive colours.

But there is another matter which forces itself upon our notice, the inconsistency and self-contradiction, which have been a pervading characteristic of the new school, or rather party, in our Church, and which were never displayed more glaringly than on this occasion. From the first, one of the leading principles which they profest and inculcated, at least in words, was submission to authority, especially to ecclesiastical authority, and reverence for it: and vehement and unceasing have been their attacks on those whom they called Ultra-Protestants, for their lack of such reverence and submission. Yet here, on account of a measure which clearly belonged to the province of the persons bearing the chief authority in our Church, which they alone were called and were competent to decide, and in the determination on which, as Mr Hope admits, all due forms were observed, they rebell against authority, imprecate curses upon its act, and threaten to leave the Church, unless her heads do just what to them seems right. Having been vociferous in crying out against the sin of Schism, they brood over it, and throw out menaces of committing it, much as a peevish boy might protest that he would run away from school. And while they are continually inveying against the evils of Private Judgement, and condemning the exercise of it in questions which rightfully and of necessity come before the conscience of each individual, which he is compelled to resolve and to act in, they exercise their private judgement with unhesitating presumption on a measure, on which most of them are no way qualified to pronounce an opinion, which no way comes within their sphere, and in which their consciences are no way implicated. Indeed there would be something almost ludicrous, if it were not so sad, in Mr Hope's naively exprest declaration: "*If I think our Church*

has forfeited her Catholicity, I am bound to leave her." So that each individual would be entitled to determine for himself, according to the measure of his own ignorance, on a question of such immense difficulty and complexity, involving a number of profound historical and theological investigations, as whether a particular branch of the Church of Christ *forfeits her Catholicity*, and cuts herself off from the great body of the Church, by an act belonging to the higher regions of ecclesiastical polity, an act in which private Christians are no way personally concerned, with regard to which they may indeed offer counsel, as Mr Hope was fully qualified for doing, to their ecclesiastical superiors, but the decision with regard to which must needs rest wholly with the lawful authorities in the Church: and this decision is not to be disputed or impugned, except in the sober way of argument, by private individuals, any more than an act of the Civil Legislature may be disputed and resisted by those who may disapprove of it. Nor is he merely to exercise his private judgement in such an affair; but, if that judgement, liable as it is to trip and stumble every moment through ignorance, or to walk awry from all sorts of blundering prejudices, pronounces the decision of the authorities in his Church to be wrong,—if he *thinks* them wrong,—he is further entitled to pronounce that his Church, the Church of his baptism, of his education, of his confirmation, his spiritual Mother and Monitress and Teacher and Guide, has *forfeited her Catholicity*; and on the strength of such a verdict, from the august tribunal of his own blunders and caprices, he is *bound to leave her.* Such is the teaching of the school which condemns the Reformers, because they exercised their judgement in matters immediately pertaining to the conscience, and in which they were personally called upon to decide whether they would obey God or man; although, in resolving to choose the former, they did not leave the Church by any act of their own, but were merely excommunicated and cut off by the schismatical act of a usurping lawless power. Thus does one extreme ever beget its opposite, often within the same breast.

Thus too have they who began by asserting the almost exclusive Catholicity of our Church, and denying that of all bodies which had not the same form of discipline, grown to question her Catholicity also, and after a while to deny it. Beginning with unchurching almost all other Reformed Churches, it was a judicial punishment that they should end in unchurching their own. As they had confounded the essence with the form, instead of discerning how it may manifest itself under a variety of forms, it was inevitable that, in the course of their disputatious prying and fingering, they must come to flaws in the form which was their idol. For they who will not believe in the realities of the divine order of the world, shall never be at a loss for excuses to pamper their unbelief: the sophist shall never lack sophisms to deceive himself with. But alas! he will also deceive others, as was seen even in the garden of Eden: and thus things have come to such a pass, that ignorant striplings and weak women have taken to troubling their scanty wits by doubts about the authority of the Church. Idler questions, more unfit for ordinary minds, more mischievous and delusive, cannot well be. Our business, the business of each one of us, is to do our duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call us, and to honour and obey the persons that are set over us, in the assurance that it does not belong to us to determine whether the powers that be are the rightful powers; for that this point has been determined by a higher Wisdom, even by Him who placed them where they are. The question which concerns us all individually, is of a different kind, not whether our Church is rightfully constituted, but whether we ourselves are living members of it, whether we personally have any part in Christ, whether we are holding fast to Him by faith, and bringing forth the fruit of good works. If we have any reasonable ground for cherishing a humble hope that we are so, we need not disquiet ourselves with questions about the Church, which are often mere substitutes, to evade the other more searching, more piercing inquiry. *Ubi Spiritus Dei est, ibi est Ecclesia:*

on this truth we may rest in confidence; and we are told how the presence of the Spirit is to be known,—by His fruits.

NOTE I: p. 39.

HERE I will insert the Address presented to the King of Prussia, as many at least of those who went up with it, will be glad to have a memorial of a day, which they will not easily forget.

"SIRE,

"WE, the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, humbly request to be permitted to express to your Majesty the gratification it has afforded us, that your Majesty should have been chosen by our beloved Queen to be one of the Baptismal Sponsors to the Heir Apparent of these realms, and should graciously please to leave your own Kingdom, in order to be present in person on this holy and august occasion. We rejoice in it as a most hopeful sign, that God should move the hearts of Sovereigns to seek to be united to each other by these sacred ties of Christian brotherhood. Already for many generations have the destinies of Prussia been closely linked with those of England. We have fought side by side in many a war: we have stood up together as the champions of the liberties of Europe: and God has blest our efforts, and consummated them on that glorious field, the very name of which seemed to declare that our alliance was well-pleasing in His eyes. Many of us remember the time when your Majesty's illustrious Father honoured our land with his presence: we remember the universal joy with which the Deliverers of Europe were welcomed: and while the feelings of those days are revived by the thought of a King of Prussia again visiting our shores, with deeper joy we hail your Majesty's coming to celebrate an alliance of still fairer promise.

"Nor can we refrain from expressing our gratitude to your Majesty for the signal mark of favour bestowed on our Church,

when your Majesty selected her to be the instrument for accomplishing your desire of promoting the glory of God by the mission of a Bishop to Jerusalem. We pray that God may vouchsafe to accept your Majesty's offering, and may render this Mission the means of manifold blessings, not only to those whom He has moved to unite in sending it, but also to those other branches of His Church in the East, which have been so long separated from us, and checkt and blighted, by the calamities of centuries, as well as to His own ancient people. Through His blessing, we hope and pray that the voice of the Lord may again proceed as a voice of power out of Jerusalem, and that the trumpet of the pure Gospel may sound from the holy hill of Zion. At the same time we would regard that Mission, no less than your Majesty's present arrival in our land for such a sacred work, as a pledge that those portions of Christendom, which were separated, not only from the Southern half of the Western Church, but also from each other, by the events of the Reformation, will henceforward be drawn together in closer bonds of union.

"We commend our Infant Prince to your Majesty's prayers and Christian love now and through life. And we pray Almighty God, that He will bless your Majesty in every way, and that, as He has raised you up for the strengthening and purifying of His Church in Germany, so it may please Him graciously to accomplish this His purpose, and whatsoever else He shall ordain for the building up of His Church in holiness and righteousness, in pure faith and love."

The King, who had evidently been moved by the Address, read the following answer. "Reverend Gentlemen,—The expression of Christian sympathy from so respectable a portion of the National Clergy of this country is highly gratifying to me; and I say *Amen* to all the wishes and prayers you express." Then, speaking in his own language, he said, among other things, in the most gracious manner: "Es war eine wahre Wonne solche Gesinnungen zu hören. Sie werden allgemeine Zustimmung und Freude durch das ganze Deutschland erwecken." "It was quite a delight to

hear such sentiments. They will excite general sympathy and joy through all Germany." I have also reason to know that he still retains a pleasing recollection of the Address.

After what has been said above, (pp. 78–82,) there seems to be no need of adding anything further in reply to the objections raised by the Anti-protestant party in our Church against the admissibility of a person, who had not received episcopal Confirmation, to be Sponsor to a child in our communion. For it is plain that those objections were little else than an ebullition of party-spirit; and had it not been for the Jerusalem Bishopric, they would probably never have been stirred. For, as was to be expected from our national and political affinity, and from the frequent intermarriages between our Royal House and those of the German Sovereigns, as well as from the intimate relation ever conceived to subsist between our Church and those of Protestant Germany, it has repeatedly happened that the sponsors for our Royal Infants have been selected from among the German Princes and Princesses. Yet I am not aware that the most narrowminded formalist in our Church ever interposed any scruple: at all events it was overruled by ever-recurring practice. In fact, not a twelvemonth before, at the Baptism of the Princess Royal, the Duke of Saxe Coburg, the Queen Dowager, and the Duchess of Kent had been among the Sponsors; but nobody, I believe, took it into his head that the Canons of our Church were violated thereby.

NOTE J: p. 40.

THAT our Church should have continued for so long a period,—now above a century and a quarter,—without anything like a deliberative and legislative council, has long been felt to be a gross anomaly, inconsistent with the true principles of ecclesiastical polity: and through the whole of that period there have been complaints of the suspension of our Convocation, and wishes, more or less loud, for its revival. It was a grand speech of Johnson's to Hume, that he would "stand before a

battery of cannon, to restore the Convocation to its full powers." And doubtless he would have been as good as his word; as he said to Boswell (v. i. p. 364.): "Would I not, Sir? Shall the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland have its General Assembly, and the Church of England be denied its Convocation?" In which argument there is more real force, than its polemical attitude might incline one to suspect. A wiser man, far more conversant with the principles of government, as of all things, has termed "the loss of the Convocation the greatest and, in an enlarged state-policy, the most impolitic affront ever offered by a Government to its own Established Church." See Coleridge's *Remains*, Vol. II. p. 208. In another passage in the same Volume (p. 36), we find him declaring that he has long regarded "the virtual abrogation of this branch of our Constitution as one of three or four Whig patriotisms, that have succeeded in de-anglicizing the mind of England." A similar view is implied in several passages of his invaluable Treatise *On the Constitution of the Church and State.*

Some of the chief evils which have resulted from this cause, have been forcibly stated by Archdeacon Manning in his first Charge, though along with a recognition of the benefits which have also arisen from it. "Who can doubt that by the suspension of the Church's legislative powers we have been protected against ourselves? Under the strong and dominant impulses of feeling which have fluctuated in the English Church in the last hundred and fifty years, it would have been a miracle of mercy if she had taken no unwise and intemperate act, of which we should now be inheriting the evil consequence. Yet after all, it must be said that it is an anomalous and unwholesome state for a Church to have no canonical legislation at all. If the same power by which her legislative functions are suspended, could bind down also the fleet and variable currents of human thought and feeling, and precipitate into a motionless form the fluctuations of national character; and if it could suspend also the manifold and mysterious workings of God's providence, under which an island people of five millions

has swelled into a universal empire, and the whole face of social life has been elevated and depressed, and varied in every feature, as by the undulating pressure of a mighty flood; then, indeed the Church might safely lay asleep her wise and watchful legislation. But is it not obvious that to this overlong suspension of her powers may be ascribed all that is sometimes alledged against her on the score of stiffness, and want of a self-adapting pliancy to meet the yearnings and changed habits and multiplied numbers of the people? Many of these objections are in fact without much meaning; but they point to where a hidden truth is lying. There are true and reasonable and good desires and yearnings of heart, to which at present she hardly makes the full reply: and who can say how much of what, as it is commonly so called, I will call Dissent, is owing to the unwilling inflexibility of her system, and to our inability to provide what we no less truly yearn to give, than they to enjoy? It is worthy of remark, that the only great effort made in the last century to provide Churches for the growing population of London and Westminster was made at the instance and petition of Convocation. Had the Church really acted in Synod since that day, it is not to be believed that the 80,000 souls in Bethnall Green, or the million reported by the Commissioners, should have been left destitute of spiritual guides. Other consequences of this suspension are also worthy of a thoughtful consideration. There are left upon the roll of her canons many, which through change of time can hardly be enforced. This is an evil in itself; but it leads to a greater. Because the undisguised neglect of these is not censured, it is argued that those also which may yet be enforced and are most expedient, have now no binding force. This touches the health of the conscience. I am not speaking of ritual orders only: there are rules and precepts affecting the highest laws of morality, through the neglect of which the very sources of life are frightfully tainted, and the holiest ordinances of God are habitually profaned." pp. 17-20.

To the same effect Mr Hope writes, in a powerful passage of his Pamphlet on the Jerusalem Bishopric (p. 60): "For

more than a century no Synod has been holden except in form; for two, no new body of Canons has been framed. Meantime the national habits and modes of thought have been changed. Spiritual destitution has fearfully increased. Schisms have been extended and legalized. The *Ecclesiastical* features of Parliament have been wellnigh done away. The Church of Ireland has become united to that of England. Dependent Churches have sprung up in the Colonies. Independent Churches are recognized in Scotland and America. Our Church is called upon to satisfy a thousand new wants,—to meet a thousand unforeseen emergencies,—to act without the State, yet in dependence on it,—to extend herself without means,—to maintain herself without authority,— to enforce discipline without possessing it,—to do all things decently and in order, without having a moment to collect herself, or to learn where she stands, or whither she is being hurried on. And yet, in the midst of these things, the zeal of her members for the most part serves but to add to her confusions. If her canons are obscure, they are still further perplexed by some isolated and hasty Act of Parliament, which raises as many difficulties as it quells. If funds are wanting to spread her doctrine, societies are formed to thwart her discipline. Everything is done piecemeal, uncertainly, inconsistently; no man respects his neighbour's handywork, because every man thinks his own principles as good as the other's, and has a right to think so, as long as there is no authority above them both. A Church legislature alone can hold out even a prospect of doing what is required: a Church legislature alone, it seems, is what no steady efforts are made by churchmen to obtain."

Similar arguments are urged by the Bishop of Salisbury in his Charge, in 1842. "In dealing with such subjects, it is impossible not to feel it to be a great anomaly that the Church is not permitted to speak her own sentiments through her rightly constituted organs, and to exercise those functions of deliberation and judgement which are entrusted to her by our constitution in Church and State. It is impossible not to feel that

it is unsatisfactory that the Church should not have any recognised mode of deliberating on subjects of whatever interest; of adapting her system to new exigencies; or of recording her decisions on the most important matters. This has now been the case for above a century; and we may well rather be thankful that no greater evils have resulted from it, than be surprised that some things have grown obsolete, which yet there is no authority to alter; that anomalies have sprung up, which it will be difficult to remove; and that various functions of high importance, which ought to be discharged by the Church on its own authority, and in its own sacred character, are carried on, with more or less of irregularity, but most imperfectly at best, by self-constituted societies, which have been almost compelled to undertake offices, from which the Church in her proper character, is debarred." p. 33. And the same excellent Prelate has re-exprest this opinion in his last Charge in 1845: "I do believe that in other respects much good might be done, and much evil prevented, by the existence of a living power of government in the Church, by which its system could be adapted to the changes which time works in the fabric of society, and its energies be directed, not by the mere voluntary efforts of individuals, but by lawful authority to a fuller recognition of the privileges, and a more earnest discharge of the duties, which rightly devolve upon it both at home and abroad." p. 9.

The convictions here exprest have been becoming more and more general of late years, along with the revival of a deeper consciousness of what the Church is and ought to be; and thus, at the last meeting of the Convocation in 1841, it appeared to be the unanimous wish, at least of the Lower House, to take some step indicative of their desire that their assembly might cease to be a mere form, and might be allowed to resume its constitutional functions. With this purpose a paragraph was inserted in the Address to the Queen,—the only measure which the Convocation is permitted to discuss,—expressing a hope that, should any questions arise touching the welfare of the Church,

on which her Majesty might desire to consult the Convocation, we might be enabled through God's blessing to deliberate upon them with Christian wisdom and moderation. I have no record of the exact words; but this was their purport. It is true, they are not very urgent; and the main part of the Lower House, if it had rested with us to draw up the Address, would gladly have spoken out with more decision and precision. But the amendment proposed with such a view was overruled, among other reasons, because, as the clause already stood, the Upper House had of their own accord pronounced an opinion favorable to the sitting of Convocation, — which a few years previously no one would have anticipated from them, — and because it was desirable that this opinion should proceed concurrently from the two Houses, without any dispute or difference about the terms in which it was to be worded. To have done less than this would have been regarded by most of us as a dereliction of a solemn duty. When, in the Latin service with which the meeting was opened, we prayed to God, the Father of Lights, and the Fountain of all Wisdom, that we, "qui in Nomine Tuo sub auspiciis clementissimae Reginae Victoriae hic convenimus, *Gratia Tua coelitus adjuti ea omnia investigare, meditari, tractare, et discernere valeamus, quae honorem Tuum et gloriam promoveant, et in Ecclesiae cedant profectum;*" and that His Spirit, "qui Concilio olim Apostolico, *huic nostro etiam nunc insideat, ducatque nos in omnem veritatem, quae est secundum pietatem; ut—Fidem Apostolicam et vere Catholicam firmiter et constanter teneamus omnes,* Tibique rite puro cultu intrepidi serviamus,"—many must assuredly have felt that it was a gross mockery to offer up such a petition, in the knowledge that on nothing whatsoever were we about to deliberate and determine, conducive to the glory of God or the good of the Church, unless we made some attempt to avert this profane mockery, by using the only opportunity granted to us of endeavouring to obtain the power to do that, in the execution of which we were seeking God's help and guidance. If we made this effort, we might clear our own souls from the guilt; and we might then leave

it to God to dispose and turn the heart of our Soverein to do what in His supreme wisdom He vouchsafed to decree for His Church. Else it would be more seemly that the prayer should be wholly omitted: so might its omission be a witness against us, to remind us of our sunken estate, and to bid us strive to regain the privileges we have lost.

On the other hand, while there has been this growing desire that the Church should be enabled to deliberate and legislate on matters concerning her welfare, opposite voices have been heard, voices of warning and dissuasion, as was to be expected in an affair of such difficulty and importance. Yet, even of those who have spoken dissuasively, almost all have begun by recognising that the present position of the Church is itself an anomaly, and that under favorable circumstances this anomaly, as the term itself implies, ought to be rectified. Thus for instance the Bishop of Ossory, in the Pamphlet in which he asserts the inexpediency of restoring the Synodical Powers of the Church at this time, opens his argument by saying, "I have long felt—that the want of a power of self-government in spiritual matters, under which the Church has so long laboured, is an anomaly in its constitution, which is discreditable and in many respects injurious to it. I have long looked forward to the time when this anomaly shall be removed, as not merely rendering the Church more perfect in theory, but more efficient for the great purposes of its institution" (p. 7). And he adds soon after (p. 9): "I am sure that the Bishops do hold that a power of self-government is essential to the perfection of the Church, and to its full efficiency." They who have objected to the revival of Convocation, have rested their arguments in the main on the ground, either that the constitution of the Convocation disqualifies it for discharging the functions of the supreme authority in our Church, or that, in the present state of the Church, the questions which would necessarily arise, if there were a body to discuss them, cannot be mooted without great danger.

To the latter objection, although it has been urged with the best intentions, by persons whose position and character equally

entitle them to respect, I would not for my own part attach much importance. For there are two staple arguments, one or other of which the *vis inertiae*, resident in human nature scarcely less than in matter, is wont to oppose to every project for the melioration of society, even when the project is acknowledged on all hands to be in itself highly beneficial. If things are going on quietly and peaceably, we are sure to be told, *Let well alone*, as the phrase is; *Do not disturb and trouble us; you see there is no need of any change, when everybody is so happy and contented.* On the other hand, if, as is mostly the case when a change is urgently called for, men's minds are agitated, and contentious passions are stirring, we are then warned against the hazard of lanching out on a stormy sea. And this will be the commonest case: for there is seldom a time when they who are looking out for dangers will not see a cloud, though it may be no bigger than a man's hand, in some quarter of the sky. Thus Archbishop Secker in 1761 alledged the perilous character of the times, as a decisive reason why the Convocation ought not to sit, though its sitting would otherwise be likely to promote the wellbeing of the Church: and doubtless in 1961, unless, as we trust, the Church has long before resumed her powers of self-government, the Primate of that day will repeat the same strain. In this manner the season for a well considered, well measured improvement passes away, under the delusive notion that timidity is prudence; whereas all history teaches that, especially in critical times, boldness has much more of real prudence. We are less likely to be overwhelmed by the surge, if we advance a-head, than if we lag in the midst of it. There is a profound wisdom, which most men will recognise at a distance, but very few at the moment of need, in Bacon's quaint remark, that "Occasion turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp." He adds, "There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things:" and so we may well lay down that the right time

for an innovation is, when its propriety and desirableness are recognised by the general consent of the persons best qualified to pronounce upon it. Now this, we have seen, is the case with regard to the need of some synodical assembly in the Church. Therefore let us not be deterred from following that general consent, because one partial danger is anticipated in this quarter, another in that. Were there no danger, little good could be expected. That which cannot be abused, will seldom be of much use. We all know that governments may pervert the powers committed to them: but it is no less certain that almost any form of government is far better than anarchy. A strong government too might, if it set law at defiance, do more harm than a weak one: yet there can be no surer maxim of polity, than that a strong government is better than a weak. Only let care be taken that the government be so constituted as to embody the greatest attainable amount of political wisdom and justice; and then let it act, the issue being committed to Him who overrules and orders all things. With regard to the immediate dangers apprehended in our day from the divisions in the Church, my own persuasion is, that the extreme opinions on either side would find very few, if any, representatives in an Ecclesiastical Synod. The experience of the last Convocation, scanty though it certainly was, confirmed the conclusion to which I had been brought by previous consideration, that the wisest and most soberminded among its members would exercise the chief influence in it, and that, if any violent propositions were brought forward, they would be rejected by a majority of above five to one.* On this point let me again quote

* In a paper circulated three years ago by the Clerical Committee establisht in the Diocese of St Asaph to take measures for the preservation of the two North-Welsh Sees, it is asserted that, "at the last Meeting of Convocation, held in the Autumn of 1841, all recognition of the authority of the [Ecclesiastical] Commission was absolutely and unequivocally disclaimed and repudiated." I know not whether this statement has appeared elsewhere, or how far it may have gained credence: but as, if it were correct, it would overthrow my position in the text, and refute a large part of my argument in behalf of the revival of Convocation, it

the Bishop of Salisbury's Charge for 1842. "There might be haste and heat and prejudice and ignorance and incapacity, and party divisions, and extreme opinions, and unsound judgements, and all the objections which ever attach to assemblies of fallible men, and from which Synods of Clergy cannot claim to be exempt. But I trust there would be found also prudence, and calmness, and knowledge, and sound judgement, and moderation, and impartial

seems worth while to mention that the statement is altogether incorrect, and without the slightest foundation. So far as my memory serves me, I do not believe that a word was said by any of the speakers in our brief debate on the Address, in any way touching on the authority of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The discussion which did take place, and some erroneous report of which must have furnisht occasion for this misstatement, turned on a totally different point. The Address sent down to us by the Upper House for our adoption naturally spoke of the deplorable religious destitution prevailing in large parts of England, and then, after expressing thankfulness on account of what had already been done to relieve that destitution, went on to urge that greater efforts were still needed. When this was read in the Lower House, the expression of thankfulness seemed to us to imply an approval of the recent Bill for the appropriation of Ecclesiastical Revenues. I do not believe that the framers of the Address had any conscious reference to that specific measure: they rather referred to what had been done of late years in the way of building new churches, and of increasing the number of labourers employed in the ministry. They can never have meant to inveigle the Lower House into a commendation of a measure, which a considerable majority of that House had strenuously resisted. But, when this unintentional covert meaning struck us, it became necessary to consider what was to be done, in order that we might not thus palpably belie our real feelings. Two courses suggested themselves: one was, to omit the expression of thankfulness; the other, to qualify it by introducing some exception with reference to the Act concerning the Cathedral Revenues; and the former was adopted, principally because it was more respectful to the Archbishop and the other Bishops who supported that Bill, and because no practical good was to be effected by a verbal condemnation of a measure which had already received the full sanction of the Legislature. So that the spirit which animated us was altogether different from that ascribed to us in the statement which I have felt called upon to contradict, and which, if it were well founded, would prove that the Convocation, were it allowed to proceed to business, would be a most pugnacious and stubborn body, that the spirit which led to its suppression, would immediately spring up afresh with

minds; I trust that faithful attachment to God's holy law, and an earnest desire to follow the guidance of the Spirit of wisdom and truth, would keep us, if not from the presence, yet from the predominance of evil, would restrain all excesses of a rash and meddlesome spirit, and teach us to repair what is defective and to supply what is lacking, without tampering with what is sound and true, and established, through the teaching of the Catholic Church, on the foundation of the Word of God," p. 35. There is much truth too in a remark made by the same Prelate in the House of Lords, when the Archbishop of Dublin presented the Petition on this subject in 1842, that, as the meeting of Parliament has often quieted disturbances which had arisen during the recess, so may a like result be not unreasonably anticipated from the sitting of Convocation. For there is a majesty in the voice of Law, when it proceeds from its constitutional organs, that strikes men with awe, and subdues their irritations, and commands their submission, if not their cordial assent. All too, who know anything of the general character of our Clergy, must be aware that, though one may here and there find a person, who fancies he is serving God with the spirit of a martyr, while he is stubbornly contending for his own fancies and prejudices, no principle is more dominant among the great body of them than the love of peace and order.

The other class of objections, grounded on the constitution of

undiminisht violence, and that the Lower House had learnt nothing in its century of suspended animation, but was eager to seize the very first opportunity of bidding defiance to the Upper House and to the temporal Government. Such an act as that ascribed to us, of "absolutely and unequivocally disclaiming and repudiating all recognition of the authority of the Ecclesiastical Commission," ought at all events to have been preceded by a calm and careful investigation of two wide and important questions,—how far the Commission itself is consistent with the principles of our Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution, and with the precedents afforded by the history of our Church, and how far its measures called for such a disclaimer and repudiation. Had we come to such a decision without this previous investigation, we should have proved ourselves unfit, not merely to discuss the high matters of ecclesiastical polity, but the most trivial that ever came before a parish vestry.

the Convocation, as being an inadequate exponent for the thought and will and conscience of the Church, is of far more weight. In truth, even among those who have exprest a wish for its revival, I am not aware that any one has entertained a predilection for its particular form; which in the first instance was not adopted with any view to its exercising the functions of ecclesiastical government, and consequently is by no means specially suited thereto. In calling for its revival, our motive has been, that it is the only form of Ecclesiastical Synod which has been in use for centuries in our Church; and though its functions were originally rather civil than ecclesiastical, in course of time it drew ecclesiastical matters also within its sphere. A wise stateman will ever desire that his institutions should strike root in the past, and will often rather expect a stout tree from the stump of an ancient institution, than from the seed of one wholly new. The form in the present case still subsists. The Convocation meets along with every new Parliament. Hence it may more easily be set at work, and receive the reality of life, as well as the form. Nor would there be anything at all singular, — rather would it be in accordance with what has continually occurred in the historical development of political institutions, as we see, above all, in the present functions of our House of Commons,—that an institution should grow in the course of ages to occupy a very different position, and to discharge a very different office, from that for which it was originally created. Only in such cases its constitution ought to be so modified, as to bring it into nearer correspondence with its new functions.

As to the specific objections which have been brought forward, I cannot enter here into a detailed examination of them; which is the less needful, inasmuch as, without disputing a large part of what has been alledged, I would merely contend against the inference drawn from it, and would plead that difficulties springing from the forms of an institution are no more to preclude our making use of it, provided it promise to be beneficial, than the dangers which a busy or timid fancy may anticipate from its adoption. These objections have been urged with very great ingenuity, and

an extraordinary profusion of antiquarian lore, in an Article in *the Quarterly Review* for March 1845. Both the ingenuity and the learning however are of that kind which not seldom overreach themselves; and the Article resembles the pleading of an advocate, who scrapes everything together and strains every point to make out his case. Sundry diversities and anomalies are enumerated in the manner in which the members of Convocation are elected. But that such difficulties are not insurmountable, is proved by the fact, that the usual complement of members has been returned to serve in each successive Convocation, whenever a new Parliament has been summoned since the Restoration; so that on this score there is no lack of precedents: and though the controverted cases would naturally be more numerous, if the meetings were convened to transact ecclesiastical affairs, this body of precedents would serve as a useful guide, when difficulties occur. The diversities and anomalies in the mode of election are surely not greater than those which prevailed in the manner of returning members to the House of Commons, before the recent Reform-Bill. Yet the Reviewer would hardly maintain that these disqualified that House for bearing its part in the government of the English Empire. As everything that grows up under the influence of the elementary powers of Nature, is shaped by those powers into a certain peculiarity, or, so to say, individuality of form, thus, even in those things which man has fashioned at first in the same mould, Time, acting as an elementary power, by various processes educes diversity. Moreover in earlier ages man himself wrought more in sympathy with Nature, and did not think it an impeachment of his works, that they were not all cut and squared by the same rule. Ancient institutions were constructed somewhat in the style of the Cyclopean architecture; and experience has abundantly proved that they were not a whit the less fitted for weathering the storms of ages, or protecting those who dwelt within their shelter. Again the Reviewer propounds divers obscure questions with regard to the forms of proceeding; which prove that one of the earliest measures of a Convocation, after its revival, must needs be to appoint a Committee of Forms.

This Committee would in the first place ascertain the course to be observed in ordinary business; and the conditions of special cases would be investigated as they arose. Set a body of men to work, among whom we may without presumption calculate on finding a few endowed with some degree of intelligence; and it will be strange if they cannot make out how they are to proceed. Practice furnishes solutions for that which afar off appears insoluble, and cuts the knot which it cannot untie. It opens doors, sometimes by using more or less force, sometimes by whispering *Sesame*, where Speculation would pore and grope about, and protest, after years of wasted toil, that no door is to be found. A further class of objections is drawn from the enormous change which has taken place in the English Church, as well as in the Empire, no longer confined to the British Islands, but embracing colonies and dependencies in every quarter of the globe. Yet here again, that the difficulty is not insuperable, may be argued from the parallel case of our Parliament, which is now the Great Council, not for the British Isles merely, but for the whole Empire; and in this respect too, if we began to act, difficulties would soon smoothe themselves, and paths would be discovered, roads over impassable, and tunnels through impenetrable mountains. In this age, when mechanical power is accomplishing so many impossibilities, may we not deem that moral power will also be able to effect something? or must Faith and Hope and Love shrink from every bugbear? In fact, the whole Article, with all its learning and ingenuity, reminds one of those sophistical chains of logic, by which it is proved incontrovertibly that motion is an impossibility; whereto a man bound hand and foot might whine a melancholy assent: but let him loose, and he will sweep away the logical web in the most conclusive manner, by moving. Was it not demonstrated of yore, what a flood of evils would flow in upon us from the use of tobacco, and from that of tea? how the English character was to be destroyed by them, and the strength and power of England to be undermined? and has it not been proved, by this man and that, how impossible it is to eat or to drink, even to eat bread and drink water, without

swallowing all manner of deaths? Yet still we eat and drink, and, in despite thereof, are alive. In truth it almost seems to be a peculiarity of the English character, to be prodigal and inexhaustible in the prognostication of evil. Hardly a change in our institutions is proposed, but a number of persons take alarm, and predict that the prosperity and glory of England will be ruined thereby; while others are no less confident that, unless the corruptions of our existing institutions are remedied, we must infallibly perish. Thus, in a letter written by the first Pitt in the year 1741, we find him saying, "I think the scene abroad a most gloomy one. Whether day is ever to break forth again, or destruction and darkness is finally to cover all,—*Impiaque aeternam meruerunt saecula noctem*,—must soon be determined." Such a letter might have been written when Attila was overrunning Europe: yet we, a century after, have to search, in order to find out from what quarter any danger could be lookt for in 1741. Doubtless too there has scarcely been a year since, when similar disasters have not been apprehended: nor does the failure of a hundred such prophecies incline the prophets to distrust the hundred and first. Therefore, although so many evils are foreboded by some from the meeting of our Convocation, we need not be appalled thereby. If we meet in faith, with the desire to do our duty, and to build up the Church in the beauty of holiness, the light of heaven will shine upon our path; and the clouds, which may seem to threaten, will be dispelled.

Nevertheless I am far from contending that the constitution of our Convocation is exactly what one should desire for a Council designed to discuss the momentous questions which would call for the consideration of an Ecclesiastical Government, were any such existing in these days. Some strong objections to it have been urged in *the English Review* for October, 1844; but the substitute there proposed would much rather increase than remove what is most defective in the present form. The writer recommends that the government of the Church should be committed to a Synod of Bishops,—a certain number of other clergymen eminent for learning, and of canonists, being admitted as advisers, but without

votes; and, if this were done, he holds, "nothing would be left to desire." Now such a Government would not be very acceptable to anybody, except to those who fancy that all the wisdom and all the power of the Church is centred in the Episcopate; and most of these would soon be disabused of that notion, when they found the wisdom of the Episcopate at variance with their own: least of all would it find favour with the Bishops themselves. Some of the reasons which tell with conclusive force against such a Synod, are pointed out by Dr Biber in his valuable pamphlet on the Supremacy, pp. 108—112; and several others, were it needful, might be added. Indeed, if we attend to the lessons afforded by divers recent proceedings in the University of Oxford, and call to mind how the measures proposed by the Heads of Houses have been rejected time after time by an overpowering majority, we may perceive that a body, which certainly does not possess greater advantages for ascertaining the mind and will of the Church, and what would best tend to build up all classes of her members in wealth and peace and godliness, would be little likely to secure any general concurrence and submission for its decisions. They themselves too would doubtless shrink from the arduous and perilous responsibility. But the only argument, which is, or can be adduced in behalf of such a proposition,—its being in accordance with primitive usage,—will not hold water. All the evidence that can be drawn from the New Testament is against it. He who has a complaint against a brother, is to bring it before the Ecclesia: Matt. xviii. 17. The incestuous person at Corinth is to be cast out by the Ecclesia 1 Cor. v. 4. Even the Apostles themselves, at the Council of Jerusalem, did not think fit to decide the great questions proposed to them, unless with the concurrence of *the elders*, and of *the whole Church*: Acts xv. 22, 23. Nor did they proceed to the election of a new Apostle, in the place of Judas, except *in the midst of the disciples*: Acts i. 15. So, when the new order of deacons was appointed, they were chosen *by the whole multitude*: Acts vi. 5.* From these

* These passages were much canvast during the controversies about Church-Government, which were carried on with such pertinacity

indications we may learn that the supreme authority in the primitive Church was vested in the Ecclesia,—not indeed as an unorganized mass, deciding questions numerically,—but with due regard to the various classes of which it was composed, none of these being destitute of a voice. That remains of this form of government were subsisting down to the middle of the third century, is clear

during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and according to custom each party strained them in its own favour, so that neither learnt what they teach. Jeremy Taylor, whose ingenuity had overlaid his love of truth when he wrote his Treatise on Episcopacy, has recourse to every shift in order to reconcile the report of the Council in the Acts with his position that "Bishops only did vote in Councils, and neither Presbyters nor People.—Although (he says, § 41)—we find no man giving sentence but Peter and James, yet in xvi. 4 they are called *δόγματα κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.*—But first, in this the difficulty is the less, because *presbyter* was a general word for all that were not of the number of the twelve, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors. And then, secondly, it is none at all, because Paul and Barnabas are signally and by name reckoned as present in the synod, and one of them prolocutor, or else both: *so that such presbyters may well define in such conventual assemblies.*" Can Taylor have read over the account in the 15th chapter,—how it was determined that Paul and Barnabas—*should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and Elders about this question* (v. 2);—how, when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received *by the Ecclesia, and by the Apostles and Elders* (v. 4);—how, when an opposition was excited in the Ecclesia by some converts from among the Pharisees, *the Apostles and Elders* took counsel together, and then, after a long discussion, Peter addrest the brethren, and obtained a hearing for Barnabas and Paul;—how, after Paul and Barnabas had declared what wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them, James proposed the decision which had been agreed upon, and which was adopted *by the Apostles and the Elders, along with the whole Ecclesia;*—and how, in consequence of this decision, *the Apostles and the Elders* wrote to the brethren at Antioch;—is it possible, I say, that so acute a man as Taylor, after reading this account, can have believed that Paul and Barnabas were especially the Elders whose names are coupled with those of the Apostles in issuing this decision? Were Paul and Barnabas then the Elders, whom, as we are told in the 2nd verse, they, Paul and Barnabas, went to Jerusalem to consult, and by whom they were received, v. 4? Clearsighted as Taylor is, when he has no prejudices to delude him, he often in this work reminds one of the saying, that *none are so blind as those who won't see.* He proceeds, "I remember also that this place is pretended for the

from a number of passages in Cyprian's Letters. Thus in the 5th, written during his retirement from Carthage to the Presbyters and Deacons, he says, that, being alone, he had been unable to reply to the application of his co-presbyters, "quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim *nihil sine consilio vestro et sine consensu plebis*—(λαοῦ, of the laity)—*mea privatim sententia gerere.* Sed

people's power of voicing in councils.—The pretense is in the synodal letter written in the name *of the Apostles and Elders and Brethren;* that is, says Geta, the Apostles and Presbyters and People. *But why not Brethren? that is, all the deacons, and evangelists, and helpers in government, and ministers of the churches?* There is nothing, either in words or circumstances, to contradict this. If it be askt, who then are meant by *Elders*, if by *Brethren* St Luke understands these church-officers? I answer, that here is such variety that, although I am not certain which officers he precisely comprehends under the distinct titles of *Elders* and *Brethren, yet here are enough to furnish both with variety,—and yet neither to admit mere Presbyters, in the present acceptation of the word, nor yet the Laity, to a decision of the question,* nor authorizing the decretal. For, besides the twelve Apostles, *there were apostolical men, which were Presbyters, and something more,—and evangelists and pastors besides, which might furnish out the last appellative sufficiently.*" It is melancholy to see so great and good a man betaking himself to such quibbling attempts to elude the plain meaning of words. Taylor does not state the matter fairly, in saying that "the pretense—for the people's power of voicing in councils,—is in the synodal letter." That letter receives its interpretation from the preceding verse, which he passes over, and which even his dexterity would not have easily twisted to his purpose: τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. If the common reading in v. 23, οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ, is correct, it seems plain that the last clause answers to the last of the three clauses in v. 22, σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Had Taylor known what strong authority there is for the reading which Lachmann has adopted, οἱ ἀποστόλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ, he would have escaped the temptation for his evasions. But, in spite of that strong authority, it seems likely that, as Vater suggests, the text may have been altered in order to bring it into nearer agreement with the later form of synodal letters; and ἀδελφοὶ is awkward and needless, if subjoined immediately to πρεσβύτεροι. Still at all events, though the decision was ratified by the whole Ecclesia, the letter might proceed merely from the Apostles and Elders.

Hammond, who treats on this passage in a note on Acts vi. 2, shews more candour, though he foists in his strange notion that

cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero, *tunc de iis quae vel gesta sunt vel gerenda,* sicut honor mutuus poscit, *in commune tractabimus.*" For assuredly we are not to infer from these words, that

the Presbyters in the New Testament are Bishops, a notion only true in a different sense, namely, that there is no distinction between the two orders; wherefore the modern maintainers of the primitive institution of Episcopacy rather trace it to the Apostolate, than to the Presbyterate. "In the Council at Jerusalem (he says), with the Apostles and Elders, or Bishops of Judea, is joined ὅλη ἐκκλησία, *the whole Church,* in the choosing and sending messengers to Antioch, but that with a most discernible distinction. The Apostles and Elders, as they whose decree or appointment it was,—ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις, — *it pleased or seemed good to the Apostles and Elders to send chosen men,* the choice and mission belonging to them, and the persons sent ἄνδρες ἐξ αὐτῶν *men of them,* Bishops of the Council, but this with the knowledge and approbation of the whole Church, σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, joined with them, as of those that were accessories, not principals, in the sending. So in the inscription of the epistle of the Council,—*The Apostles and Elders and Brethren send greeting.* Not that any but the Apostles and Elders, that is, Bishops of Judea, were members of the Council, or had voices in it (for that is cleared v. 6, at the first mention of their convening,—*The Apostles and Elders came together to consider of this matter,*—the debate of the question, and the decision, belonging only to them); but that the whole Church joined with the Apostles and Bishops, shewing their consent and approbation and submission to the decree of the Council. And thus in following times have Laymen subscribed the Acts of Councils in this form, *Consentiens subscripsi, I have subscribed consenting,* or testified my consent under my hand. As for the decree of the Council, though that be in the style of ἡμῖν, *us,* v. 28, which may be conceived to refer to all those that are named in the front, and so to the ἀδελφοὶ, *brethren,* yet 'tis apparent by v. 25, ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν, *it seemed to us being assembled together,* that that belongs only to those that were assembled or sat in the Council, that is, the Apostles and Elders, v. 6; and so it is expressly set, c. xvi. 4, δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων." I said that Hammond shews more candour than Taylor; but perhaps, if one observes how every expression is strained, in order to avoid recognising its natural import when unfavorable to his prepossessions, it would be more correct to say that he is less ingenious, and therefore seems less sophistical. If we look at the passage with an unprejudiced eye, it is clear that ἐκλεξομένους, in v. 22, refers to all the

the rule which Cyprian had laid down for himself was an innovation of his own, at variance with ancient usage; though they certainly seem to imply that all the bishops in his day were not

three classes just mentioned: it was determined by the Apostles and Elders, along with the whole Church, *that they would choose*, not that the Apostles and Elders should choose, but that they should do so along with the whole Church, according to the mode adopted in the election of the first Deacons. Nor is ἐξ αὐτῶν added to signify that the men so elected were to be taken from among the Apostles and Elders,—to say nothing of those apocryphal personages, "the Bishops of the Council,"—but that it was resolved to send messengers out of their own body, from among the brethren at Jerusalem, to those at Antioch, as well as a letter. Nor assuredly is the discussion spoken of in the 6th verse the one main act of the Council, as Hammond would represent it, so that ἡμῖν in v. 28, and ἡμῖν γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν in v. 25 should refer merely to the preliminary discussion among the Apostles and Elders. If we read the whole story connectedly, it appears that, when the opposition was excited by the Pharisaic converts, in consequence of what Paul and Barnabas declared to the Ecclesia, the Apostles and Elders gathered together, perhaps retired, to consider what was to be done, and then returned, probably to the same Ecclesia, and set forth the conclusion they had come to, which was adopted by the whole assembly ὁμοθυμαδόν.

On the other hand we may readily agree with Thorndike, a man of far subtiler intellect than Hammond, of subtiler perhaps even than Taylor, though no way comparable to him in the regions of fancy and feeling, that "the arrow is shot beyond the mark, when it is argued that this decree (of the Council of Jerusalem) is the act of the people, because it appears that they assent to it, seeing that they were bound to consent to the acts of the Apostles:" (*Right of the Church in a Christian State, c. ii.* §. 34). But when he proceeds, in §. 38, to argue, that, "as no water can ascend higher than it descended afore, so can no people have any further right and power in Church matters than that which the people had under the Apostles, because that is all the evidence upon which their interests can be grounded and acknowledged,"—we perceive that even he, though he seems to have been really desirous of attaining to some stable truth, amid the raging cross-currents of conflicting opinions, and though he exercises a critical discrimination beyond the common measure of his age, yet could not avoid the errour he speaks of at the beginning of his *Discourse of the Government of Churches*: "If we put the grains of affection and prejudice into the gold-scales which we weigh

equally scrupulous in conforming to it. With the lofty notions of the sacerdotal and episcopal dignity, which he manifests in other places, he would never have subjected that authority of his own

nice truths with, no marvel if the lighter go down." For, to look no further, as the obligation on the part of the people to submit to the decree of the Apostles arose, according to Thorndike's own view, from the relative position of the two bodies, when that relative position becomes wholly different, and the Episcopate or Clergy no longer have the same immeasurable superiority or unparalleled claims to submission, and the Laity are, intellectually at least, a body far superior to the Congregation at Jerusalem, *cadit consequentia et argumentum*, In like manner, it seems to me, unless his vision had been dimmed by his desire of cutting down the privileges of the Laity to a minimum, he would hardly have maintained in the last-mentioned *Discourse* (c. xii. §. 18), that the loss of the right which the people exercised in the election of the first deacons, is more than made up for by the practice which "the people of this Church useth at the present, though not in themselves, yet in the patrons of churches, to whom the Church yieldeth it, in the name of the people, in respect to the merit of those that built or endowed churches." For it is not easy to understand how the appointment of a minister by a patron, often a total stranger to the parish, and who will mostly be influenced in the main by personal considerations, can be an amends to the Congregation for no longer having the power of electing the minister most acceptable to them, even granting that this election were subject to an episcopal veto. Again, without this bias, Thorndike would not have contended, as he does in the same *Discourse*, c. xi. §§. 13, 14, and in his *Right of the Church*, c. ii. §. 34,—that, in the passage about the incestuous person (in 1 Cor. v.), St Paul merely calls upon the Ecclesia "to see his sentence publisht, ratified, and executed," and does not imply that the Congregation had any authority in themselves to cast out the offending member. For the passage plainly shews that the power of *judging those who were within*, their own members, was vested in the Ecclesia, —not in the Presbyters, to whom Thorndike ascribes it, but of whom no mention is made; and St Paul expostulates with them for not having exercised that power.

It is curious that Hooker, when he is maintaining the right proposition, that the Laity ought to have a voice in legislating for the Church, should cite the Council of Jerusalem, as though the report of it were unfavorable to his proposition, and should merely answer, "that the Council of Jerusalem is no argument for the power of the Clergy

accord to the controll of the Laity; but his sense of justice would lead him to maintain an ancient institution, even at his own cost, when others might be disposed to violate it. That it was agreeable to ancient discipline, appears from his 13th Letter, *Ad Clerum*. "Hoc enim et verecundiae et *disciplinae* et vitae ipsi omnium nostrum *convenit*, ut praepositi cum clero convenientes, *praesente etiam stantium plebe, quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est, disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus.*' In like manner, in his 11th letter, *Ad Plebem*, concerning those who had lapst, he says: "Cum pace nobis omnibus a Domino prius data ad Ecclesiam regredi coeperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula *praesentibus et judicantibus vobis*;" and, a little after, he begs them to wait for his return, "ut, cum ad vos per Dei misericordiam venerimus, convocati coepiscopi plures, *secundum Domini disciplinam et confessorum praesentiam et vestram quoque sententiam*, beatorum martyrum literas et desideria examinare possimus." Again in his 27th letter, *Ad Clerum*, with reference to a similar question, he writes: "Cui rei non potui me solum judicem dare, cum multi adhuc de clero absentes sint,—et haec singulorum tractanda sit et limanda plenius ratio, non tantum cum collegis meis, *sed et cum plebe ipsa universa.*" So too, in the 25th Letter, from the Roman Confessors to Cyprian, it is acknowledged that these questions ought "[illegible]ute moderateque tractari, *consultis omnibus episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus, confessoribus, et ipsis stantibus laicis.*" Again the Roman Clergy, in the 30th Letter, express their approbation of this course, "Collatione consiliorum

alone to make laws. For first, there hath not been sithence any Council of like authority to that in Jerusalem. Secondly, the cause why that was of such authority came by a special accident. Thirdly, the reason why, other Councils being not like unto that in nature, the Clergy in them should have no power to make laws by themselves alone, is in truth so forcible, that, except some commandment of God to the contrary can be shewed, it ought notwithstanding the foresaid example to prevail:" B. VIII. c. vi. §. 7. Cogent and conclusive as these reasons would be, if they were needed, it is strange that Hooker, even in this unfinisht draft of the Eighth Book, should have overlookt that the Council of Jerusalem was not a precedent against him, but decisively in his favour.

cum episcopis, presbyteris, diaconis, *confessoribus pariter ac stantibus laicis* facta, lapsorum tractare rationem."* Other passages confirmatory of these might be added; but these are more than

* Hence we see with what one-eyed vision Thorndike must have read Cyprian's Epistles, when he said, in his Treatise *Of Religious Assemblies*, c. IV. §. 13, that they who gave the people "right of deciding controversies, because they are mentioned in the Council at Jerusalem,—may please to consider St Cyprian's order, *which alloweth their presence for their satisfaction, not their voices to decide:* as they are present at Councils, but not called to give sentence." The reason why their presence was allowed, he conceives to be "in regard of the execution and effect which the sentence of the Bishop or ecclesiastical order then found by the consent of the people, when the law enforced it not." This, he supposes, was the reason why St Paul wrote to the Ecclesia at Corinth about the expulsion of the incestuous person; and he adds: "But since Kingdoms and Commonwealths are become Christian, the laws of those Kingdoms and Commonwealths, as they enforce the ministers of the Church to execute their office according to such rules as they enforce, so they constrain the people to yield outward effect to the same." This is a wretchedly low view of polity, especially of ecclesiastical polity. It is true, necessity has often been the occasion whereby the right principles of government have first gained their outward expression and recognition: the laws of the outward world continually compell man to acknowledge and bow down to the laws of the inward world, when he would otherwise set up his selfwill in opposition to them. But it is strange that a writer, professing a deep reverence for the polity of the Church, and for its authors, should lay down that St Paul and Cyprian merely admitted the Laity to have an influence in the Ecclesia for the sake of carrying their point, as a temporary expedient, without reference to any higher principle. Nor is his historical position, that Cyprian "alloweth their presence for their satisfaction, not their voices to decide," better grounded than his theoretical one. The passages quoted in the text, especially those from the 11th letter, *Ad plebem*,—which naturally are more explicit than the others, though all the others, if compared therewith, are plainly seen to coincide with them,—declare that Cyprian intended to proceed according to the *sententia* of the Laity, the Laity *praesentibus et judicantibus*. For an unprejudiced scholar will hardly imagine that *judicare* here is used in the sense which Jeremy Taylor, in the passage cited in the last Note, ascribes to it in a similar expression: "Therefore Councils were always kept in open churches, *ubi populus judicat*, not for others, but for

enough to prove that the Laity, in Cyprian's days, had a voice in the discussion and decision of such questions as came, not only before the Diocesan, but also before the Provincial Synod.

It is true, in the report of the Synod held at Carthage in the year 256, to pronounce on the validity of baptism by heretics,—as that report is printed along with Cyprian's works,—after reading that a number of Bishops had assembled, *cum presbyteris et diaconibus, praesente etiam plebis maxima parte*, we find nothing but a record of the opinions of the eighty-seven Bishops, all agreeing in denying its validity, and asserting that they who have received this baptism must be rebaptized on their admission into the Catholic Church. On the strength of this, and of a couple of other equally conclusive statements, the English Reviewer asserts (p. 37), that, though "priests and deacons were frequently present at Councils,—they took no part in the proceedings, except on special invitation from the bishops so to do,"—that "they came with their bishops to assist with advice, if called upon, but not empowered with any right of suffrage;" and the same thing he maintains *a fortiori* concerning the laity. This is a sample of the rash uncritical manner in which our admirers of ecclesiastical antiquity snatch up their conclusions with regard to the ancient doctrines and practice of the Church. They find two or three statements which seem to coincide with their own previous notions; and straightway they proclaim that those notions have the sanction of all ecclesiastical antiquity. An attempt should at least have been made to explain the apparent discrepancy between this passage and those previously quoted from Cyprian's Letters, where it is explicitly asserted that the inferior clergy and the laity were to take part in the deliberations, both by delivering their opinions and judicially. But, if we examine the report of the Council of

themselves, not by external sentence, but internal conviction." Institutions in their origin are not such mere shadows, though they may become so in their decadence. The sound tree does not grow by the filling up of the hollow tree; though the hollow tree may live for scores of years, and even for centuries, after the heart of the sound tree has crumbled away.

Carthage, we find it was not convened for the purpose of coming to any decision, but merely in order that the Bishops should deliver their opinions in succession. Thus Cyprian states in his introductory speech addrest to his brother Bishops: "Superest ut de hac re singuli quid sentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communicationis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.—Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et praeponendi nos in Ecclesiae suae gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi." In these words he is manifestly referring to the despotical assumption of the Roman Bishop Stephanus, who was endeavouring to enforce his opposite conclusion by excommunicating the Asiatic Bishops for differing from it. So that, as the Synod carefully abstains from deciding anything, of course the inferior clergy could not take part in any decision. It was a matter in which the Bishops merely delivered their opinions in order, as our Judges do when called in by the House of Lords.

At the same time it is plain, from a number of indications in Cyprian's letters, that the Clergy had already begun to overshadow the Laity, and to curtail their rightful authority in the Church; while the Episcopate on its part was in like manner overshadowing both the Laity and the Clergy, and was gradually drawing the whole power to itself. In this age too do we discern the first germs of the subsequent pretensions of the Papacy. Thus each class, while it designed to strengthen itself, really weakened itself, by its usurpations, and, from losing the support of those below, became less able to resist the encroachments of those who were above it. In acting thus, the Episcopate may often have had no intention, or even consciousness, of usurping what did not belong to it, and was assuredly not influenced solely by personal ambition. A benevolent zeal would lead it to exert that authority, which in times of struggle and persecution would readily be conceded to persons occupying the position of the chief shepherds and guides of their flock. In such cases energy and fortitude invest a

man with power, which he has no set purpose of assuming. But unhappily that, which in the first instance is done unobjectionably, under the pressure of circumstances, is afterwards regarded as a precedent, and claimed as a right. It would be an interesting enquiry, if a scholar, duly qualified with learning and critical discrimination, endeavoured to ascertain what traces the history of the Church in later ages still affords of the influence originally exercised by the Laity, and to describe the progress of the encroachments whereby they were deprived of their full Christian franchise. With regard to Synods, it would seem as though one cause, which led to the exclusion of the Laity from them, was the practice of convening Ecumenical Councils, which grew up immediately after the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Empire. For various reasons would render it inexpedient that more than one deputy should come from each Diocese to the Council; and this would of course be the Bishop, who, so long as he was elected by the clergy and people, would also be in every sense their fittest representative. Moreover, as the only proper ground for convening an Ecumenical Council is to determine the fundamental principles of the faith, when these are assailed by wide-spread heresies, this especially belonged to the province of the Bishops, as the chief depositaries of the knowledge and traditions of the Church. On such questions very few laymen were in those days fitted to pronounce. If in the lower orders of the Clergy any were particularly eminent for learning and wisdom, they too might be specially summoned to the Synod, as Athanasius, while a deacon, was to the Council of Nicea. But even the Ecumenical Councils did not consist purely of Bishops or of Clergy. The Emperor, who presided in them in person or by deputy, stood in place of the Laity; and without this addition the decrees of the Council, after the Church became a national one, would no longer have been binding.

Now this is the great defect in the constitution of our Convocation: it represents the Conscience and Will, and expresses the voice of the Clergy, not of the Church. This was suited to its original function of imposing taxes on the Clergy, but unfits it for being the legislative Council of the whole Church. Hence Lord

Hardwicke's celebrated decision is no less valid on grounds of true ecclesiastical polity, than of constitutional law. The acts of the Convocation, as at present constituted, ought not to be deemed binding, except upon the Clergy, until they have received the sanction of Parliament. It is mainly owing to this defect, that Ecclesiastical Councils have fallen into such disuse in the whole Western Church since the age of the Reformation. The rights, which, we have seen, the Laity must originally have possest in the assemblies of the Church, were greatly impaired as early as in the fourth century, and appear even then to have become little more than a shadow. This, as has already been remarkt, was in no small measure the result of the Ecumenical Councils, in the Canons of which, enjoining annual meetings of Synods, they are merely termed Synods of Bishops. Still there is a great body of evidence shewing that for several centuries the Laity, as well as the lower orders of the Clergy, often, if not generally, took part in them, or at least were present. Thus, in the Acts of the Council of Eliberis, at the beginning of the fourth century, after the names of the Bishops who were present, we have those of a number of Presbyters; and then it is added, "Residentibus cunctis, (that is, all the Bishops and Presbyters), *adstantibus diaconibus et omni plebe*, episcopi universi dixerunt." At the first Council of Toledo, in the year 435, we read, "Convenientibus episcopis,—*considentibus presbyteris, adstantibus diaconibus, et ceteris qui intererant concilio congregatis*, Patruinus episcopus dixit." At the third Council of Toledo, in 627, "Post confessionem et subscriptionem omnium episcoporum *et totius gentis Gothicae seniorum*,"—King Recared addresses them. And in the 18th Canon of that Council it is ordered that the Bishops should assemble once a year, "*judices vero locorum, vel actores fiscalium patrimoniorum—simul cum sacerdotali concilio—in unum conveniant.*" At the fourth Council of Toledo in 671, the 4th Canon regulates how the Bishops are first to enter the assembly, then the Presbyters, *quos causa probaverit introire*, then, *diacones probabiles, quos ordo poposcerit interesse,—deinde ingrediantur laici, qui electione concilii interesse meruerint.* At the Council of Tarragona

in 516, the 13th Canon enjoins that the Bishops, *non solum a cathedralibus ecclesiis presbyteros, verum etiam de dioecesanis ad concilium trahant, et aliquos de filiis ecclesiae saecularibus secum adducere debeant.* In like manner the 10th Canon of the Council of Riez, in 439, on the annual assembling of Councils, enacts that *in ipsis conciliis et presbyteros et diaconos et judices sive curiales ac privatos praesentes esse oportet.*

It would require far more learning, and a much larger command of books, than I have at hand, to carry out this investigation, and to shew how and when and through what immediate causes the Laity and the lower Clergy were deprived of their synodical franchise in the various branches of the Church, how they first lost their influence on the decisions of the Councils, and were then at length excluded from the meetings also. For that this was the process which took place, seems scarcely doubtful; though Archbishop Wake, in arguing against Atterbury (in his *State of the Church and Clergy of England.* pp. 96 — 116), tries to make out that it was just the reverse, that the whole authority in the Councils of the Church rested originally with the Bishops, and that the change, by which Abbots and Priors first, then Cathedral Dignitaries, and lastly ordinary Presbyters obtained a voice in them, was "an encroachment of later ages." For it is hardly conceivable that a practice, which was so long and widely prevalent, should have gained this footing, and should even have been sanctioned by express regulations concerning it, unless it had at one time been accompanied by some real power. The shadow of an institution may subsist for many generations after the reality has past away, as has been seen over and over again in all long-lived nations; for instance, in the retention of the assembly of the Roman Curies for centuries after the whole system to which they belonged had been remodeled: and this is especially the case with regard to the Church, of all corporations the most permanent, and everything pertaining to which has a peculiar sanctity. Thus our Houses of Convocation still continue to assemble, though their assembling has for a century and a quarter been almost as much a mere form,

as the challenge offered by the Champion at the Coronation. Unless however there had at one time been a reality, there would hardly have been such an abiding shadow. To suppose that the Lower Clergy and the Laity merely came to the Councils as spectators and hearers, is as implausible a notion, as that the two Houses of Convocation merely assemble to witness the meeting of Parliament. Nor does the solution proposed by Wake and others, that, when any members of the Lower Clergy are mentioned as having been present, they had been specially summoned on account of business in which they were personally concerned, seem applicable to the majority of cases. Nor again does the fact, that the Bishops alone mostly signed the Acts of the Council, prove that the whole power was vested in them: at almost all public meetings the reports of the proceedings are merely signed by the presidents. And though ordinarily the Bishops alone spoke, so did the Kings alone in the Homeric assemblies; yet this did not render the assent, the ἐπευφημία, if I may coin such a word, of the people a nullity. The speakers in public assemblies will naturally come in most cases out of certain classes, especially in earlier ages, before the great body of the people have learnt to feel their intellectual and moral and political importance. Of such a kind would seem to have been the primitive form of the Councils of the Church. The approbation and consent, the ἐπευφημία, of the people gave a binding force to the ordinances proposed to them. This point is well stated by Field, in his excellent Treatise *Of the Church*, (B. v. c. 49), where, speaking of the persons who were present at the General Councils, he says, that they are "of divers sorts. For some are there with authority to teach, define, prescribe, and to direct: others are there to hear, set forward, and consent to that which is there to be done. In the former sort none but only Ministers of the word and sacraments are present in Councils; and they only have deciding and defining voices: but in the latter sort Laymen also may be present. Whereupon we shall find that Bishops and Presbyters subscribe in this sort: *Ego N. definiens, subscripsi;* that is, I, as having power to define and decree, have subscribed. But the Emperor, or any other lay

person, *Ego N. consentiens, subscripsi;* that is, I, as one giving consent to that which is agreed on by the spiritual pastors, have subscribed. That the Emperor and other Laymen of place and sort may be present in General Councils, no man maketh doubt. For though Pope Nicolas seem to deny that the Emperors may be present in other Councils, where matters of faith are not handled, yet he confesseth they may be present in General Councils, where the faith, which is common to all, and pertaineth not to clergymen alone, but to laymen and all Christians generally, is treated of; it being a rule in nature and reason, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debere;* that is, that that which concerneth all, may be handled and meddled with by all, so far forth as conveniently it may, and as there is no manifest reason, in respect of the disturbance and hinderance of the deliberation, to repell them from such intermeddling."

That the Laity, having once enjoyed this right, should have lost it, will not seem unaccountable to any one who calls to mind how in the course of ages one Christian privilege after another was wrested from them, even that of reading the Bible, and the Cup in the Eucharist. Of course, among the causes which combined in bringing about this result, a part arose from the condition of the Laity, moral and intellectual. When almost all the intellectual cultivation and all the theological knowledge in the Church were confined to the Clergy, it seemed in accordance with that equity, which, however unconsciously, exercises an incalculable influence in reconciling men to social institutions, that the decision of questions requiring much knowledge and skill should be committed to the possessors of those rare qualities. But after the Reformation, when Samson had entered the city of Knowledge, and had carried off the gates along with him, so that all men might freely enter after him, and no one could any longer bar them out,—when knowledge thus grew to be more and more generally diffused, and was no longer restricted to a privileged class, — when the Bible was thrown open to the Laity, and it became inevitable that thoughtful laymen would meditate and speculate upon divine things, as well as upon human,—it

ceast to be possible that a body selected from one part of the Church should be regarded and submitted to as the legitimate representative and organ of the whole. Hence even the Church of Rome has closed the long series of her Councils with that of Trent; though in her the objections just mentioned have far less force than among Protestants, and are smothered and suppress, instead of being allowed to grow up freely. In Protestant Churches on the other hand, it has been found impossible to uphold the authority of a Synod, except where the Laity have resumed their rightful place in it; as in the National Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and in the American Convocation. An additional proof how urgently this is required by the mind of the Church in our days, has been afforded by the recent proceedings in Prussia; where, when the Provincial Synods assembled two years ago, to consider what would be the best form for the National Synod which their great and good King purpost to convoke, the only point, I am informed, on which all the Provincial Synods concurred, was in expressing an earnest desire that their Lay brethren should be summoned along with the Clergy. In our own Church too, if we are to have a really efficient Ecclesiastical Synod, the Laity must form part of it. They are indispensable primarily, because of right they ought to be there; and right is the only sure and lasting ground of power: all the excuses for the usurpation which excluded them have vanisht. They are indispensable, in order to gain weight for the decisions of the Synod, and to obtain the concurrence and sympathy of the great body of the Church, which would look with jealousy on the proceedings of a merely clerical Council. They are requisite, in order to give a sound practical character to our deliberations: for, though some of the causes which led Clarendon to pronounce that clergymen "understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can write and read" (*Life* V. I. p. 74), may be less operative now than two centuries ago, from the greater intercourse and fusion between the various classes of society, still one cannot feel sure that he would altogether retract this opinion, were he living in our days. They are requisite,

to keep us from wasting our time in dogmatical disputes, and to preserve us from the noxious influence of those idols of the theatre, which no class is proner to worship.

How far this necessity may be apprehended and appreciated by those amongst us who are most anxious for an Ecclesiastical Synod, I know not. Archbishop Whately indeed, who has taken the most active part in endeavouring to obtain one, says, in a Note to his *Kingdom of Christ* (p. 266), that "if the Laity are admitted to a share in the government of the Church, and to ecclesiastical offices, this would be not only allowable, but wise and right. That laymen,—that is, those who hold no *spiritual* office,—should take part in legislating for the Church, and should hold ecclesiastical offices, as in the Scotch Kirk, and in the American Episcopalian Church, (always supposing however that they are members of the Church, not, as in this country, belonging to other communions) is far better than that the whole government should be in the hands of men of one profession, the Clerical."

Dr Biber also, in his Pamphlet *On the Supremacy*, to which I have already referred, while he forcibly urges the need of an Ecclesiastical Legislature, rightly insists that the Laity ought to take part in it (p. 117), shewing that this would be agreeable to primitive usage (p. 106), and to the practice of the British and Anglo-Saxon Churches, pp. 48—60.

The Bishop of Oxford again, who, as Archdeacon of Surrey, was one of the most prominent among the members of the last Convocation in endeavouring to obtain some expression of our desire for the revival of the deliberative Council of the Church, when he is speaking of the first meeting of the American Convocation, in his History of the American Church, says (p. 220): "It was gathered together in the full likeness of that Council, to which *the Apostles and Elders came together at Jerusalem.* For now, as then, it met with bishops at its head, with presbyters and deacons, each in their own order, ministering under them, and with the laity, *the multitude of the faithful,* taking solemn counsel for the welfare of their Zion." And again, in p. 254: "Some indeed there were,—who contended that laymen should not sit at all

in Synods of the Church. But for this there seems to be undoubted warrant. From the intimations of the Acts of the Apostles, we can hardly doubt that, in some way or other, the laity took part in the discussions of the primitive Church. It is as plain that they made up the body in which dwelt the Holy Ghost, as that the power of discipline and rule was vested in the hands of the Apostles. The general history of the Church in the succeeding age suggests, that then also the believing people ratified with their exprest consent the decisions of the earliest synods. That such was the custom in our own land, is clear from plain historical records. It is proved by the earliest remains of our annals, that the bishops presided over ecclesiastical Councils in England, and, with a vast attendance of the people, settled all matters of religion against heresies. After the subjugation of this island by the Saxons, their kings, with the chiefs and bishops, held councils, in which they decided all which concerned the safety of the Church and kingdom, and, to maintain their peace and discipline, enacted laws, with the sanction both of the laity and prelates. Further, if at any time canons were past in a merely ecclesiastical Synod, they were not binding on the body of the clergy, until they had received the sanction of the monarch, as the representative of the laity; for no decrees of ecclesiastical Councils possest the character of public enactments, until thus sanctioned by the king's authority. Both in Scotland and England, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, councils were held for settling both civil and ecclesiastical affairs; in which it is plain, from their signatures, that kings and great men of the laity sat with and even outweighed the bishops. On this point our ancient records cannot be mistaken. 'Let the Bishop and the senator' say the laws of Edgar, about A.D. 950, 'be present at the provincial synod; and afterwards let them teach divine and human laws.'—'King Eadmund,' says the code of Anglo-Saxon laws, 'assembled a great synod at London-byrig, as well of ecclesiastical as secular degree, during the holy Easter-tide.'—'In the reign of—Wihtred,—there was assembled a convention of the great men in council. There was Birhtwald, archbishop of Britain, and the

forenamed king, and the ecclesiastics of the province of every degree spoke in union with the subject people.' So speak the laws of King Alfred. 'After this it happened that many nations received the faith of Christ, and that many synods were assembled throughout all the earth, and also among the English race,—of holy bishops, and also of other exalted witan.' And even in later times, when the clergy and laity no longer sat together, the decisions of the synod were ratified by the assent of the assembled laity. It is not therefore to the presence or votes of the laity in the American Convention, that objection can be made. In this respect the constitution of the synod did but follow primitive examples." It is very satisfactory to find so clear and decided a conviction on this point in a person whose character and abilities, and even his name, must needs give him a powerful influence in our ecclesiastical affairs.

To strengthen the foregoing arguments by the highest authority in our Church on matters of Ecclesiastical Polity, I will here add the following sentences from Hooker, whose largeness and freedom of mind raise him far above the polemical partisans, able as many of these were, in the succeeding century. "It is undoubtedly a thing even natural, that all free and independent societies should themselves make their own laws, and that this power should belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a politic body, though haply some one part may have greater sway in that action than the rest; which thing being generally fit and expedient in the making of all laws, we see no cause why to think otherwise in laws concerning the service of God; which in all well-ordered states and commonwealths is the first thing that law hath care to provide for. When we speak of the right which naturally belongeth to a commonwealth, we speak of that which needs must belong to the Church of God. For, if the commonwealth be Christian, if the people which are of it do publicly embrace the true religion, this very thing doth make it the Church, as hath been shewed. So that, unless the verity and purity of religion do take from them which embrace it that power wherewith otherwise they are possest, look, what authority, as touching laws for religion, a

commonwealth hath simply, it must of necessity, being Christian, have the same as touching laws for Christian religion: b. viii. c. vi. § 6." Then, after answering the objection which he supposed might be drawn from the Council at Jerusalem, as we have seen in the last note but one, he proceeds: "As now the state of the Church doth stand,—till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annext unto the Clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most consonant with equity and reason, that no ecclesiastical laws be made in a Christian commonwealth, without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy, but least of all without consent of the highest power.—In this case therefore that vulgar axiom is of force: *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet.* Whereupon Pope Nicolas, although otherwise not admitting lay persons, no not emperors themselves, to be present at Synods, doth notwithstanding seem to allow of their presence when matters of faith are determined, whereunto all men must stand bound. *Ubinam legistis imperatores, antecessores vestros, synodalibus conventibus interfuisse? nisi forsitan in quibus de fide tractatum est, quae non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos et omnes pertinet Christianos.*—But were it so that the clergy alone might give laws unto all the rest, forasmuch as every estate doth desire to enlarge the bounds of their own liberties, is it not easy to see how injurious this might prove unto men of other condition?—Wherefore, of them which in this point attribute most to the clergy, I would demand what evidence there is, which way it may clearly be shewed, that, in ancient kingdoms Christian, any canon devised by the clergy alone in their synods, whether provincial, national, or general, hath by mere force of their agreement taken place as a law, making all men constrainable to be obedient thereunto, without any other approbation from the king before or afterwards required in that behalf?—There are which wonder that we should account any statute a law, which the high court of parliament in England hath established about the matter of church regiment; the prince and court of parliament having (as they suppose) no more lawful means to give order to the Church and clergy in these

things, than they have to make laws for the hierarchies of angels in heaven.—The most natural and religious course in making laws is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgement of the wisest in those things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to set down a form of public prayer, a solemn confession of the articles of Christian faith, rites and ceremonies meet for the exercise of religion, it were unnatural not to think the pastors and bishops of our souls a great deal more fit than men of secular trades and callings. Howbeit, when all which the wisdom of all sorts can do is done for devising of laws in the Church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the counsels of physicians to the sick. Well might they seem as wholesome admonitions and instructions; but laws could they never be without consent of the whole Church, which is the only thing that bindeth each member of the Church to be guided by them. Whereunto both nature and the practice of the Church of God set down in Scripture is found every way so fully consonant, that God Himself would not impose, no not His own laws upon His people by the hand of Moses, without their free and open consent." Here, as in other instances, this great teacher of political wisdom is maintaining those principles against the Puritans, which in our days need much rather to be maintained against the most violent adversaries of the Puritans.

As to the various practical questions of detail, which would necessarily arise with regard to the constitution and the procedure of a Synod composed jointly of the various orders of the Clergy and of the Laity, I cannot discuss them here. Doubtless there would be a good deal of difficulty in settling and adjusting them; and this is aggravated by our ignorance of the position and powers of the Laity in the Councils of former ages. But, as their relation to the Clergy is in many respects very different now, there must of course be a corresponding difference in their relation as members of a Synod. One indispensable condition, as Dr Biber rightly urges, would be

that, whatever mode of election were adopted, the elective power should be vested in the body of ordinary communicants, and, *a fortiori*, that the persons elected should be chosen out of that body. That the wisdom needful for such a work is not wholly wanting in these days, may be seen from the admirable scheme for the constitution of the Synods in the Prussian church, in M. Bunsen's Treatise on that subject: and as in all matters of practical policy we Englishmen boast to be, and, from the manifold experience which we have had for more than ten centuries, ought to be, superior to other nations, we may reasonably trust that these difficulties also would smoothe themselves away, if we were enabled to set to work in right earnest at finding out how to overcome them. After the convictions I have just been expressing, it may be deemed inconsistent to entertain any wish for the revival of our Convocation. That however seems to be the only way at present, in which our Church can attain to giving a general expression of her voice; and one may therefore wish for it, as the likeliest prelude and preparation for something better. The Bishop of Exeter, who, in his Charge for 1842, has spoken strongly on the want of an ecclesiastical Synod, has there remarkt (p. 43): "It is said that Convocation is not such a body, as is suited to synodal proceedings, that it was not originally constituted for a Synod, and that the progress of time had developed sources of very grave mischiefs inherent in its constitution. If so, it may be altered, and brought nearer to the model of the primitive Church, with such modifications as the existing state of things may demand. Surely it must be as safe to trust Convocation with the task of reforming its own constitution, as it has been found to trust other bodies in a similar work; and be it remembered that the Supremacy of the Crown, dutifully acknowledged by our Church even in its Articles, would be at all times ready to prevent or repress the mischiefs, which might arise from any exorbitant or unwise proceedings of such a body."

With regard to the objection which has been urged with much force by the Quarterly Reviewer, that, if we were allowed to meet for the transaction of business, we should assemble without any

experience, or any previous habits of debate, seeing that this objection, if it be allowed to check us, would be just as strong a hundred years hence as it is now, we may leave it to act upon those who hold that one must never attempt anything, because one cannot at first starting come forward as an accomplisht master. The maxim of practical wisdom however is not that we are never to try to swim until we can swim, but rather that by swimming we are to learn to swim. Nor would there be any benefit in our spending a score, or five score of years in practising in the sham-fights of a debating society. The battles in the early part of the French Revolution confirmed irresistibly, what previous experience might have taught, that such training is likelier to unfit, than to fit men for real war, the only efficient training for which is itself. Moreover our condition, with all its defects, is not quite so helpless as the Reviewer represents it. The Rural Chapters, which have lately been revived in several Dioceses, and the Diocesan Associations, which have been establisht, I believe, in almost all, supply us with occasions for meeting and transacting business in consort, at the latter along with our lay brethren, from whose presence we often derive invaluable assistance; and the questions which at such meetings we are led to discuss, though with a narrower aim, are not seldom of the same kind, as would come before an Ecclesiastical Synod.

Nor would I be daunted by that which has been held up in divers quarters to scare us, the fear of the public press. Though newspapers are the chief idols of the age, an idol has no power except over those who are infatuated enough to worship it. At the presence of an honest, righteous purpose, the idol falls to the ground, and discloses its hollowness and impotence. If we need actual experience to convince us that Ecclesiastical Synods in our days may deliberate gravely concerning the most important matters, notwithstanding the public press, ample evidence has been afforded by the American Convocation, and by the Scotch National Assembly, as well as by the recent meeting of the Prussian Synod. Though Pasquin is said to have been a

formidable power in the Romish Church, we will not vail our flag to his English representatives.

The Quarterly Reviewer indeed, and others, have admonisht us that our *strength is to sit still*, and have reminded us of the Divine warning, *In returning and in rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and confidence shall be your strength; and ye would not.* The purport of this warning however is only to prevent us from having recourse to illegitimate means for the sake of delivering ourselves from an oppressive yoke. When a burthen is upon us, which we cannot remove by the exertion of any lawful power, we are to submit to it. But the command does not apply to cases where a lawful course is open before us. When tyranny of any kind is pressing on the Church, her strength will mostly be to sit still. But there is no such tyranny now. Through God's mercy the Church is free from all outward bondage. If she is under any bondage, it is through the weakness of her own will, through her own apathy and carelessness, through her jealousies and contentions. Under this, our strength is not to sit still, but to rise up and cast it off.

NOTE K: p. 40.

Since this Charge was delivered, the institution of Rural Chapters has been revived in the Diocese of London; and the regulations for them issued by the Bishop seem to have been modeled in great measure after those framed for our Diocese by Bishop Otter; the lovers of whose memory must needs rejoice that, even when dead, he should still be the source of benefits, not only to his own immediate children, but also to other portions of our Church. From the language used by the Bishop of St David's in his Charge for 1842, we may expect that the same institution will soon be revived, if it is not so already, in his Diocese. In page 17, when speaking of the rural Deans, he says: "Another important branch of their office is, to serve as centres of union for the clergy of the Deanery.—I am convinced that great

benefit would be likely to arise from meetings of the Clergy, held periodically in each Deanery under the presidency of the Rural Dean, for the purpose of communication on all subjects connected with the general and local interests of the Church. In these conferences doubts might be removed, and information and advice interchanged, on whatever points either of doctrine or practice might occur in the course of your parochial ministrations. And with these meetings there might be advantageously connected the formation of libraries and reading societies, which might supply the want of theological works, and particularly of the more important in modern literature, which is often so painfully felt by clergymen in retired situations with limited incomes." The last suggestion I hail with much pleasure, being convinced that the formation of Theological Libraries in connexion with our Rural Chapters might be a source of wide and lasting good, on a scale continually increasing, as the libraries would every year become richer in sound theological works. In this persuasion I have ventured to offer a like recommendation at several Chapter-meetings, and in my Charge in the year 1841, p. *55*; and some beginnings have been made in the way of carrying it into effect.

A similar opinion, strongly in favour of such meetings, has been exprest by the Bishop of Glocester in his Charge for 1844, p. 21. "Ever since I have held my present station among you, I have been in the habit of recommending that the Clergy of each neighbourhood should have frequent meetings for the special purpose of considering the state of their respective parishes, of giving and receiving counsel in the difficulties which are of perpetual occurrence in parochial ministrations, of collecting contributions for ecclesiastical charities, of regulating a clerical book-society, and disposing of other business conducive to the general benefit of the Clergy, and the right discharge of their functions. If such meetings take place under the presidency of the Rural Dean, a regular and constant opportunity will be afforded of communicating with the Diocesan, in order that, upon all subjects of moment which arise, they may be in possession of his sentiments. I shall not disguise that, in addition to those objects, I have always

regarded such meetings as the means of bringing together in friendly association and for purposes of mutual benefit, those whom a difference of sentiment, or at least a difference of party, had kept assunder. Much asperity of feeling would be mitigated, much jealousy would be allayed, were they whose views on some controverted points are different, more in the habit of meeting upon common ground, in the advancement of matters of common interest, in regard to which no discrepancy of sentiment exists. Other grounds of recommendation will suggest themselves to your minds in favour of such periodical meetings, which are, I believe, maintained in several parts of this Diocese. I understand that elsewhere the ancient Decanal Synods have been revived with the best consequences. These are in effect assemblages of the same character and tendency as I have just described, with the addition of such solemnity and authority, as tend to give them weight and permanence. Many of you are probably acquainted with the history of these synods from a book of much interest to our profession, *Horae Decanicae Rurales*. Whether such solemn meetings can conveniently be adopted under the present circumstances of this Diocese, I am not prepared to decide. But in this, as in other matters, I desire to consult the wishes and feelings of my Clergy; and, should it be consonant to the general sense of the incumbents in the respective Deaneries, I shall be happy to give to the scheme all the sanction of my authority, with the distinct understanding that at such meetings questions of a controversial nature are never to be agitated."

Nay, even the Archbishop of Canterbury, slow as he ever is, from feeling the importance of every word which falls from a person occupying his position, to recommend anything like an innovation, has said in his last Charge, for 1844, after touching on the revival of Rural Deaneries: "The establishment of associations, corresponding with these ecclesiastical divisions, which might bring the Clergy together at stated times, and afford opportunities of personal intercourse and consultation on matters of interest to the Church,—such as the administration of their parishes, the conduct of schools for the poor, the relief of clergymen disabled by infirmity,

and their widows and orphans,—has been recommended by high authorities in the church, and under good regulation would, I believe, be exceedingly useful. It would give me pleasure to see them established in this Diocese; and one of their earliest and most beneficial occupations would be, to procure and perpetuate a regular supply from every parish for the maintenance of Missions in the Colonies,—a tribute of charity from the Church to her exiled children, a pledge of her parental affection, and unceasing regard to their welfare in body and soul. If the only result of such brotherly union among the Clergy were to enable the Church, by the joint application of all her powers, to send forth her ambassadors on the seas wherever there is need of their aid, she would have the satisfaction of having faithfully executed one of the great commands of her Lord. But I should look for the further advantage of leading the way to the settlement of differences, which disquiet both Clergy and Laity, and deprive the country at large of much of the benefit which would be derived from cordial co-operation in the spirit of brotherly love:" pp. 34, 35.

In a note on this passage he adds, with the exemplary caution which characterizes him: "The attention of such meetings—would of course be restricted, by definite rules, to the subjects specified in the Charge, or subjects of a similar nature. Discussions on matters of theological controversy, or on the general polity of the Church, should be carefully excluded, and no publication of proceedings be allowed. The emanation of public resolutions or acts from such meetings would lead to the disturbance of order in the Church, and too probably multiply, instead of healing, divisions." On the expediency of these regulations my own observation and reflexion had led me to a like conclusion. Of course there is a danger lest the discussions at Rural Chapters should assume a controversial character: but, whenever I have been present at them, they have been conducted soberly and with good temper; and if activity and zeal have their possible evils, inactivity and listlessness have their certain and far more mischievous ones. To obviate the former, it seems to me very desirable, that, according to Bishop Otter's rules, a report of the

proceedings at each Chapter should be transmitted regularly to the Archdeacon, and by him, at least when there is any call for so doing, to the Bishop. Thus any tendency to assume a polemical character might be checkt at the outset. The Archdeacon would feel it his duty to pay frequent visits to a Chapter where any such tendency was discernible: and, from the respect for ecclesiastical authority which distinguishes the great body of the Clergy, his interposition would almost always be effectual. If not, the Bishop's would be so.

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